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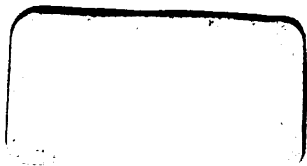
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FROM THE BEQUEST OF

Mary Osgood

OF MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS





(6)

LETTERS FROM LONDON,

WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR 1856 TO 1860.

BY

GEORGE MIFFLIN DALLAS,

THEN MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE BRITISH COURT.

"Point de Sel permet beaucoup de franchise."—Gervot, Mém.

EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER JULIA.

“ J ”

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1870.

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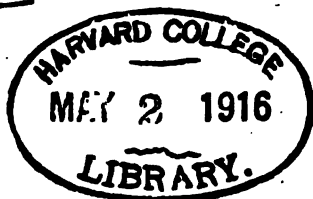
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LETTERS FROM LONDON.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THERE were many incidents connected with the post of American Minister in London, from 1856 to 1861, which may be usefully and perhaps not disagreeably, recalled from the oblivion into which they must otherwise hasten. To do this, no departure from the reticence lastingly exacted by diplomatic function is necessary. A book, in which the scenes and conversations of Paris at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848 are portrayed by a British diplomat and peer, was doubtfully received, because this reserve was in a measure relaxed. The example should be followed with watchful self-restraint.

As a general rule, *Despatches* addressed by a public agent to his government, on the business of that government, pass out of his control and merge into the mass of executive archives, to be thenceforward

reached under a responsible authorization only. Exceptions nevertheless will occur to every mind :— as when mooted topics, ceasing to agitate, have subsided into History ; or when they involve no question of State policy and are purely personal.

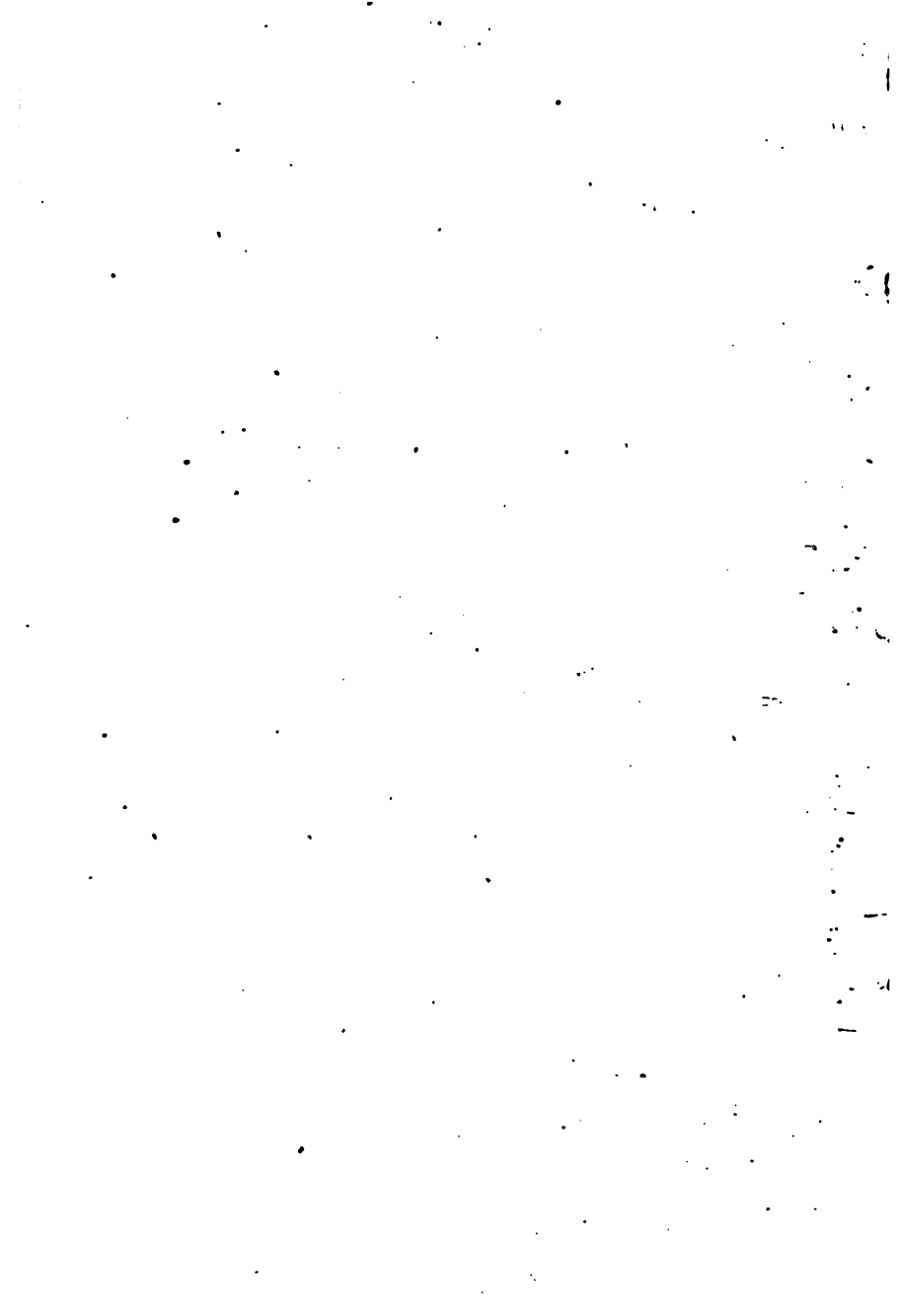
The series of letters addressed to Mr. William L. Marcy and Mr. Lewis Cass (although those gentlemen were Secretaries of State, in succession) partook, however, neither in design nor fact, of official character. They were essentially private letters : uniformly so termed, regarded, and treated. Very probably, an exaggerated estimate of their merit as such, has been caused by the complimentary language with which their continuance was constantly urged.

The purpose of these volumes will be seen with more distinctness than it can be described. Their bearings are various. As constituting, in the aggregate, a running commentary upon events during five years, they take the undisguised aspect of a familiar journal. While the personal opinions of the author upon every subject springing into notice are perhaps decidedly perceptible, yet nothing savouring of dissertation, treatise, or argument, political or social, was indulged, save in one or two instances. Although touching, occasionally and obscurely, on matters behind the screen of diplomacy, the letters to the

Secretaries of State were wholly apart from the official correspondence of the envoy, maintained in at least three hundred and thirty *numbered* despatches. They were meant to be by-the-by:—to convey friendly and informal hints: to help the conclusions of public functionaries by widening the sphere of facts and observations: and to relieve dry and onerous labours with short and sketchy allusions. How far this design succeeded, it is impossible to judge better than by the encouragement to persevere often and warmly expressed.

There is one light in which this publication particularly recommends itself to the writer:—that is, as an authentic report to his fellow-citizens (altogether divested of the multitudinous communications on file in the Department of State) indicating, with sufficient distinctness, his whole course of action, sentiment, and thought, from week to week, and year after year, while filling the United States mission to the British Court.

G. M. D.



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LETTERS FROM LONDON.

TO MR. MARCY.

New York, February 29, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter of the 26th was received about the same time that I suppose you got mine.

I ought to have made this acknowledgment at once, but it was lost sight of in the distractions of departure. We quit here on board the Atlantic, punctually at 12 to-morrow.

I must confess that when reading the correspondence at the department, I was slightly surprised to notice with what little account the conversational suggestion as to an arbitration had been regarded. No doubt it was so made as to leave no impression that it was meant as a serious proposal; our minister would otherwise have formally submitted it for decision. Lord Clarendon was bound to give it directness and distinctness, or to abstain afterwards from saying that the offer had been made at all.

I cannot say whether it would be wholly safe to refer the construction of the Treaty to any "State or Power" in Europe; but if it be a case for reference, and it can be esteemed so only because of the moral weight of an offer of that sort, then I think we should be safer in relying upon the judgment and independence of an *individual* of recognized political ability, experience, and integrity. There are such men even in these modern times. Recollecting his Life of Washington, his Portrait at the Patent Office, and his general estimate of our government, I should feel no apprehension that his British attachments would blind the sagacity or warp the honesty of Mr. Guizot. I put him as an instance only; there are others.

My numbered despatches will of course be always official; and as to other communications, I shall leave them to be classed as public or private, as your good discretion may determine.

I am very truly and respectfully yrs.

G. M. DALLAS.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, March 28, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The arrival here of the *America*, after a detention of several days beyond her proper time, and the sight of boundless fields of ice, through which, by filling and backing, she made her way

with difficulty, have thrown a pall over the last hopes for the Pacific. This unfortunate ship excited so much interest that I ventured to write a private note to Lord Palmerston about her. The admirals of the Admiralty had all given her up, and discountenanced the idea of sending a government steamer in search; and being told that nothing would avail unless the Premier could be induced to act, I, very impudently, invoked his co-operation in a purpose of general humanity, and sent my billet by an American merchant, to explain the plan of exploration. My messenger returned perfectly enchanted with the prompt and decisive manner in which my note had been received and acted upon. Lord Palmerston wrote notes to the admirals, and an order immediately issued to the commanders of *two* steamers, *Tartarus* and *Despatch*, to proceed in search forthwith, and according to the programme matured. So much for a first step in diplomatic audacity.

Our travelling military commissioners, Messrs. Delafield, Mordecai, and McClellan, took pot-luck with me yesterday, in the house to which I have just removed my family and the legation. They are not talkative men; but I thought I could discern that they are going home full freighted with a large mass of useful information.

If ever you issue another decree for reform in the diplomatic service, pray devise some mode by which

4 LORD CLARENDON.—SIR HENRY BULWER.

a minister may be relieved from the deluge and distraction of visitors. If the department would assume the responsibility, and not quarrel with the consequences, he would be able to do twice the usual amount of business by closing his doors three days in the week.

I am drawn to my last ten minutes before the Bag is closed.

Truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, March 30, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The *Times* of this morning announces that orders have been issued to the officers at the outposts and the Tower to hold themselves in readiness for firing salutes on receiving to-day from the department news of peace being made; and one of the correspondents says that Lord Clarendon will probably be in his seat in the House of Lords on next Tuesday, and may then communicate the incidents of the conferences at Paris.

I received yesterday your "confidential and unofficial" letter of the 14th instant. The very day before it reached me I had a visit from Sir Henry Bulwer, who, I could not help thinking, came to discharge himself of certain reflections on the treaty, of which he was one of two fathers. He very soon

entered upon that subject, first, however, with a preface that he was in no manner connected with the government, and that our conversation was, of course, "as between gentlemen." He had read Mr. Clayton's speech, and really there was very little difference between their impressions. I told him that whatever might be the views of others, the fathers of the bantling were bound to unite in defending it against mutilation, if not destruction, by opposite constructions. He remarked how difficult it was, in framing such an instrument, to choose language which would admit of a single construction only; that Mr. Clayton and he had conceived themselves particularly safe in employing the words of Mr. Abbot Lawrence in his communication to Lord Palmerston, accepted and affirmed by Lord Palmerston's answer. He went on to say that so far as respected the Bay Islands, the question appeared to him primarily to be, whether at the time of ratifying the treaty, they were dependencies of the Belize; and as to that, he observed, with what appeared to me some significance, their subsequent formal colonization rather indicated the sense of the British government that they were not. The protectorate was really recognized by the treaty, and only restricted in its possible modes of exercise; fortification and dominion were excluded. I interrupted him by asking *how* then was the protectorate to be exercised? He paused an instant;

thought there were modes of exercising it not prohibited by the treaty; but added that he did not wish to argue the matter, as argument was too apt to make those engaged in it obstinate in their respective views. The Protectorate was a point of honour. Yes, said I, a most attenuated point: you reduced it to a semblance or a shadow, a thing under which, without violating the clear terms, intention, and scope of the treaty, you could do nothing effective, and then you tell us that you hold to it as a *point of honour*! But it is quite as possible to disembarass yourselves of this fanciful point of honour as of anything else. A trustee must act with honour as long as he holds the trust; but he can with perfect honour withdraw from and transfer the trust to another; and how cheaply and under how many guarantees this could be done with the Mosquito savages!

Sir Henry recurred to the Belize, and seemed to regard the matters of which we complained in that quarter as topics between England and the adjacent States, Mexico or Guatemala, rather than with us. Such an idea, I said, seemed to me to render the treaty with the United States, so far as the Belize was concerned, quite nugatory; it left England at liberty to extend her progress as far as she liked, without authorizing an interference of any sort by the United States.

This conversation, which I consider private, was protracted for some time. I have endeavoured to

sketch it faithfully, as you may deem it of moment to know the general theories of Sir Henry Bulwer respecting the conflict over his own treaty. He left me under very agreeable impressions of his intelligence, and more than half inclined to think that he rather leans to our interpretation than to the adverse one. You are much better acquainted, probably, with Sir Henry than I am, and can appreciate what he says more correctly. His reputation here is that of a man of ability, but prone to indirection.

Our officers were repulsed by Marshal Vaillant in Paris in a manner alike singular and rude. If it had not been ascertained by them to be the effect of personal eccentricity and *brusquerie*, we might draw from it a warning. They wanted to visit certain military establishments. "No! you can't be permitted; we don't like you enough!" They wanted some drawings, which they specified. "No! we have a quarrel with you; we are going to fight you; good-bye, till we meet to exchange cannon-balls:" and so they were dismissed. We must not be caught napping, though I can as yet discern no proof of a belligerent plan.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, April 4, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

In a letter received from the bankers, after giving me a memorandum of the credit opened in my favour by the government on account of salary, they go on to say, "we beg to add that we have received no advice respecting the allowance for contingent expenses." This, I presume, is the result of a casual oversight; but as it precludes my checking on them for contingent expenses, and will embarrass the despatch agent and the messenger of the legation, pray have it put right as early as possible.

By a letter from the Foreign Office of April 1, I was apprised that the Queen, who returned to town the day before, would grant me an audience at Buckingham Palace, on Friday, the 4th, at 1 o'clock, to deliver my credentials. Her Majesty has been entertaining for the last two weeks, at Windsor, the King of the Belgians.

Yesterday, in the House of Commons, Mr. Cobden asked Lord Palmerston whether he had yet fulfilled the promise of producing the correspondence between this country and ours. The reply was that the correspondence was still in the Foreign Office, which had recently been severely pressed, but that he expected to lay it on the table in two or three days.

Our own pamphlets, transmitted by you, have been in some demand, and have enlightened not a few.

Every day gives birth to some fresh conjecture as to the terms of the Treaty of Peace. Lord Clarendon is either extremely cautious, or dissatisfied with what he has been obliged to sign;—he will neither come home, as was anticipated, and explain a little in the House of Lords, nor will he open his mouth at a dinner in Paris to support Walewski's praise of the Treaty, although that praise was pronounced with unusual solemnity. The Conservatives, and opposition generally, are ready to pounce upon the instrument as soon as it appears.

——I have just returned from Buckingham Palace, having delivered to the Queen my credential. Her Majesty asked about the health of the President, about my former visits to this country, and so on. She is not handsome, but her expression of face and her manner are engaging, and very soon put her visitors at ease. I was also presented to Prince Albert, who stood by the Queen on her left. While in the Picture Gallery, I made the acquaintance of Lord Lansdowne, Sir George Grey, Earl of Harrowby, Count Colorado (the Austrian Minister, recalled to be sent to Rome), Mr. Vernon Smith, of the Cabinet, and many others, who, I am happy to tell you, were in no wise repelled from the American Minister by his plain suit of black, but, on the contrary, made his time, while waiting her Majesty's

readiness, pass very pleasantly. My coat, which I am bold to say was as well made and of as good cloth as any in the Palace (except perhaps Prince Albert's!), came from the shop of a tailor in Philadelphia, Sixth above Arch, of the name of Kelly. The truth appears to be that our common sense is gradually getting the better of traditional fooleries, in honest reality, greatly improving social intercourse. Sir ———, a son of the minister we had in the United States, and who seems quite attached to our country, confessed, though himself an assistant of Sir Edward Cust, the Master of Ceremonies, that these idle points of court etiquette were gradually wearing out.

I have neither had matter nor time for a formal despatch, and must beg you to be content with this unceremonious letter.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, April 7, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

My effort is to let you have something from me, be it ever so small and indifferent, by every regular steamer. I would have prepared a formal despatch to-day, though there is nothing to tell that will not keep for a few days; but that, suddenly, the

Queen has laid her commands upon me, and I must eat my dinner at the Palace.

And pray, Mr. Secretary, what is your minister to do or say if he be placed at the royal table alongside of Soulouque's representative, whose fine ebony our friend, Mr. Mason, has estimated at \$1000?

Political parties here are squaring off for a regular set-to, on two subjects, the Treaty of Peace and the Relations with America. On the former, the public dissatisfaction is growing every day; shoulders are shrugged, and a sense of disappointment and humiliation expressed in all quarters, to such an extent, indeed, that I doubt whether an illumination can be safely ventured. On the second topic, Mr. Gladstone has broken ground in the House of Commons with considerable animation; so much so as to cause Lord Palmerston to lose his temper, a thing he very rarely does, and to occasion quite a general surprise. He would seem, though not yet very decidedly, to be resolved on standing by Mr. Crampton, and to regard his omission to communicate to you for two months the letter of Lord Clarendon, offering to arbitrate the Central American difficulties, as of no importance, because the offer had been repeatedly made to Mr. Buchanan, and communicated by him to you long before. A vague impression prevails that upon these two questions united, the ministry will go by the board, and that Mr. Gladstone, certainly the only fully competent man presenting

himself, will, in the new combination, take the place now filled by Lord Palmerston.

I wish our well-wishers here, who are becoming loud and more numerous hourly, could be spared, for a time at least, the shock they will certainly receive on the President's declining to arbitrate. There is a moral weight in an offer of that sort which nothing but a perfect knowledge and correct appreciation of the matter in controversy can entirely repel, and it is absolutely amazing how few among our best friends understand the subject even superficially! For my own part, I am against arbitration, as involving something that savours of concession, and I am convinced that if we calmly but firmly, and especially with quiet and steady preparation for the worst, hold on to the obviously just construction we have given the treaty, this government will give way, indirectly perhaps, by proposing to nullify the treaty and begin again, or directly by removing in some such fashion as Mr. Squier's project, all possible motive to persevere in their misinterpretation. We have distinctly and ably, in the face of the world, taken our position on both the matters in difference: it is entirely too late to change that position, or even to seem to hesitate about it. Lord Palmerston must be looked coolly in the eye, so that he may gather from our composure as well as from our words, the conviction that he can expect no substantial change in us. Still, a short postponement of the President's final

determination on the question of umpirage, would give to many in both Houses of Parliament, now that the ball is opened, an opportunity to inform themselves accurately, and so to avoid being shocked by the refusal when it comes.

I was somewhat struck by a remark which was made to me by a gentleman, rather high in office, at a soirée on Saturday last. In the course of conversation I had ventured to say that what surprised me was, that a man so personally good-tempered and courteous as the Premier, could use such words and evince such bitter feelings as he sometimes did towards the United States. "Perhaps," was observed, "it may not be his fault." "How so?" I immediately asked; "and whose fault can it be?" "Well," was the reply, "I think it all originates with Clarendon!" This may be an effusion of personal grudge against the Earl, worthy of very little reliance; and yet we sometimes get a peep behind the curtain by casual remarks of this sort. \

Mr. C., just returned from Paris, tells me that Mr. Buchanan proceeds home by the Arago on the 9th instant, the vessel which takes this note.

I cannot forbear repeating to you my anxiety that you should not permit any importunity to persuade you to remove our consul at Leeds. He is, as a public officer, first-rate.

Majors Delafield and Mordecai, and Captain McClellan, have not yet obtained the visiting per-

mits for the several military offices which Lord Palmerston promised me a week ago. I hope he has not been thwarted by the respective Boards, and that the papers will be forthcoming soon.

There is to be a grand naval review off Portsmouth, the chart and programme of which will accompany this letter. It was prepared and presented to me by Captain John Washington, of the Hydrographical Office. At this moment the exhibition is fixed for the 17th of April (a day which I cannot give to it), but Captain Washington tells me that the naval officers wish it postponed for a week, and that the Queen may probably so command;—and if so, I will endeavour to be a witness. Captain Benham, of our Coast Survey, may, as an engineer, deem it important that he also should be present.

The scientific gentleman whom I have just mentioned, Captain Washington, has told me of the discovery of a process by which the place at which a submarine cable, sunk in the sea for telegraphic purposes, breaks, can be immediately ascertained. At the point either of beginning or ending, the spot is determined in a very novel but certain manner, by time, or intensity in the action of the fluid. He regards it as of immense importance, in encouraging the laying of submarine cables, but he could give me no more definite or accurate account of it. It may possibly not be wholly new to the Superintendent of our Coast Survey.

You must not hesitate to let me know if you think I waste your time.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, April 18, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

My despatch has gone by the steamship on Wednesday last, but I think it probable that this epistle, by the Persia on to-morrow, will reach you quite as soon, if not a little earlier.

I regret that Major Delafield and his colleagues could not give another week to the pursuit of their researches, as I have latterly received from the Foreign Office notes which might have facilitated their progress.

If the statements made to me by very many of our leading friends in the House of Commons can be relied upon, a most determined and formidable assault on the ministry, in respect to our relations, may be looked for. As far as I have yet acted, my desire has been to strengthen the position of our parliamentary advocates by removing all pretence of a hostile feeling on our part, and putting the hostility of the ministry on the grounds of some "*inevorable state policy*," in reference to their commercial encroachments by the colony of the Bay Islands, or some "*foregone conclusion*" as to the enlistment

question, quite inaccessible to reason or manly conciliation. Such you will see to have been my intimations at the Lord Mayor's dinner to me of yesterday.* I send you an exact copy of my re-

* The table-address at the Mansion House, referred to in the foregoing letter, was the following :—

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

The very kind and complimentary language with which his lordship prefaced the last toast, and the cordial manner in which it has been received by this distinguished assemblage, are entitled to, and I hope you will accept, the return of my gratitude. I am, in truth, however, almost bankrupt in thanks ; for since landing in the dominions of your illustrious Queen, as the representative of the government and people of the United States, I have met nothing but a series of flattering welcomes and hospitalities. Although perfectly conscious that these manifestations are not in the remotest degree addressed to an individual so utterly unentitled to them as myself, but that they are profusely lavished as a generous tribute to a nation as whose messenger I come ; still, on its behalf, and with the sensibility which I know it would unanimously feel, I must beg you, my lord, ladies, and gentlemen, to receive this expression of profound acknowledgment.

There are some topics on which it would be ill-timed, if not unwise, more enterprising than safe, to touch on this occasion, and in this presence ; indeed, my arrival is so recent that the subjects which would be most acceptable to you are as yet unknown to me. I dare say, however, that I can venture, without much hazard (in the provincialism natural to Western tongue), to guess that the spirit and purpose of a new-comer are matters of at least partial curiosity. Well, my lord, I am neither authorized to feel, nor do I feel any desire other than that of giving all my energies and efforts unreservedly, to the restoration of the most harmonious sentiments and friendly relations between America and England. Animated by such a spirit, and aiming at such a purpose, if I fail, as fail I may,

marks, for I took care to premeditate carefully, and rely more upon my memory than upon the extemporaneous afflatus of the occasion. Allow me to analyze briefly. You will note that—

1. I ignore all the balderdash about mother country, kindred, and so forth. One of to-day's papers, referring to a short speech made by me at the most republican of the London clubs, on the evening of the 16th inst., puts nonsense of this kind very falsely into my mouth. The truth is that such terms as "mother," "daughter," "cousins," etc., are their own familiar ones, and if you refer to England and America, their version makes it a reference to mother and daughter. I have resolutely, and from principle, eschewed any phrase of the sort.

2. My reception has been such as to exact the

it will be because of some overruling and inexorable policy of state, or some foregone conclusion not to be undone by manly and honourable conciliation.

Allow me, my lord, in conclusion, to offer my congratulations to your lordship, and to all the guests who surround you, on the great event consummated since my arrival—the restoration of peace to Europe. War, though undoubtedly accompanied by moral benefits or alleviations, is still, and at best, an evil; and the vast industrial power of the empire, however for a time gallantly enlisted and ably directed, will find more genial and fruitful employment in those channels of agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and mechanical exertion, which have so eminently distinguished her people in their march of improvement.

Renewed acknowledgments, etc.

strong acknowledgments made; and this was not only due, but in harmony with my purpose.

3. I designedly forbore expanding on the points of difference, but asserted that if, with the conciliatory spirit and purpose I avowed, the government made my mission fail, it would be because they had found out that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty checked their commercial ambition at a most interesting point, or because Mr. Crampton and the consuls (who are said to be ready to vindicate their course by publishing their instructions) were to be sustained at all hazards. This was said in terms not as here stated, but to the intelligent perfectly clear.

4. I introduced a congratulation on the Peace, because I thought it would quietly and respectfully imply a perfect and cool contempt for the idea that our government could in the slightest degree be affected in their pursuit of right by the powerful attitude in which that Peace left England.

The support given to my remarks was very decided. Lord Stanley (who, as the son of Lord Derby, was called upon to respond to a toast complimentary to the House of Peers) did not hesitate to say that that body would echo my sentiments, and that the man in England who would venture to assail the institutions and government of the United States would be regarded as a dangerous public enemy. Mr. Cardwell (responding for the House of Commons), while all the members present stood up

as expressive of their adhesion to his views, went so far as to say that he "could almost pledge the Commons of England to sustain the American Minister in the assertion of his country's international rights against any ministry whatever." An eminent and eloquent clergyman put in the same sentiment from the Church; and Mr. Roebuck, sitting by me at the time, said that I could now see that Lords, Commons, and Church agreed with the great body of the British people, and would never submit to quarrel with America on the pretexts got up: he added, with emphasis, we fear no power on earth, and I am incapable of hypocrisy—my only wish is that you should know the truth.

Lord Lyndhurst, whose great age has in no respect impaired his powers of mind, is said to be preparing to take the field for us in the Lords. A trifling, but to me most agreeable incident, gave countenance to this idea, at the recent levée, which I attended as *chaperon* to three of our countrymen. I was passing, in the line of diplomats, to the throne-room, when I felt myself caught by the arm, and heard the exclamation: "Welcome, my countryman, welcome to England!" I turned, saw a very venerable man in court costume; did not know him, for I had never seen him before, but thanked him cordially, and hurriedly passed on. After performing my duty in presenting my *protégés*, I waited close by the Queen to see who the old gentleman might be; ascertained

that he was Lord Lyndhurst, and then, going up to him, renewed my thanks for his welcome, which he very cordially received. I forward to you in the Bag to-day an interesting communication from Mr. Mason, received yesterday. I have, as he requested, carefully read it; and should the emergency to which he refers arise, or be seen approaching, I shall not fail to advise him promptly. Although my impressions are as yet like his own, there is no knowing what a whim may bring forth, and I think it might be prudent to instruct the Commodore either to affect, for a month or two to come, some business with the ships of his squadron in such of the Mediterranean ports as would prevent any abrupt attack, or gradually to disperse them on the lookout. I will write to Mr. Mason this suggestion, and perhaps he will see the expediency of applying it at once, and until some time has elapsed after the grand review at Portsmouth on the 23rd inst.

By-the-by, the frequency with which I have been advised and almost solicited, by the officers of the government, to attend this naval review, has rather confirmed my disinclination. It will be a grand and ostentatious display of British naval power, at which, as an American, citizen or minister, I shall be reluctant to play the part of a wondering spectator. I was told that * * * * had said he would rather have Mr. Dallas attend than all the others of the diplomatic body; as indicative of something like this

peculiar desire, I send you the copy of a short note this moment received from the Foreign Office, and I add a copy of my reply. I do not intend, unless *commanded* by a direct *invitation* from the Queen (which I have feared might come), to swell the exulting crowd at that demonstration, but shall, of course, abstain gracefully.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, April 20, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Lord Aberdeen was kind enough to pay me a visit this morning; and the result of a long conversation with him is my conviction that, in the course of two or three days, I shall receive, to be forwarded to you, the reply of Lord Clarendon to your letter of the 28th of December last, requesting, at its close, the recall of Mr. Crampton, and the removal of Messrs. Rowcroft, Barclay, and Matthew.

This reply will be calm and moderate in tone, but definitive in declining to do what you have asked. It will found its reasoning upon fresh statements and evidence furnished by Mr. Crampton, and affect to be unable, without doing injustice, to determine the question of veracity on points of fact. Of course, neither Lord Aberdeen, nor any one else out of the Foreign Office, has exact knowledge of what the

facts are upon which Mr. Crampton has raised, or rather bolstered up, the issue for the relief of the ministry. It is conceived that, unless by some harsh and unexpected course of action on the part of our government, a reaction in sentiment shall be suddenly provoked, Lord Palmerston will be unable to sustain himself. No one will be surprised if Mr. Crampton be dismissed ultimately; but it may be (as was said to me) that a plausible case of contradictory proof may be the burthen of Lord Clarendon's reply, and that many will expect it to be met before the final blow is struck. Lord Aberdeen is a calm and judicious man. His political position here you perfectly well understand. He would undoubtedly desire to preserve good relations between the two countries, and is by no means satisfied that a similar disposition on the part of the ministry would not, especially at their commencement, have avoided existing difficulties. But he is a loyal, high-minded statesman, and is obviously not prepared to prejudge the new testimony sent forward, and of which he can have no accurate knowledge until it shall be laid upon the table of the House of Commons, as repeatedly promised by Lord Palmerston.

Since reading the *Globe* of the 18th instant, I have been in very little doubt as to the "foregone conclusion" in respect to the matter of foreign enlistments, upon which this government had settled. That newspaper, in my opinion a reliable represen-

tative of cabinet policy, when commenting upon my address at the Lord Mayor's dinner, and after many compliments to it and my sentiments, with an expression of a desire to keep the best relations with us, yet closed its article with a strong "trust" that notwithstanding all this, "no considerations, even those arising from the prospect of war and its calamities, will ever lead the British nation to *deflect* one inch from the path of uprightness and honour."

Considering, then, that the British ministry refuse your demand, I take it for granted that you will send Mr. Crampton his passports, and that, as soon as your having done so is officially known here, I shall receive mine. It will, in all probability, be in your power before that to apprise me at what time you intend acting, and what course the President would wish me to take on being tendered "my ticket of leave." Certainly I will comply with his and your instructions as far as I can; but my inclination is, as I think my true representative duty and policy are, to quit England instantly, and to remain for a limited period either in Paris, or Brussels, or Geneva, until I receive your final directions. Of course, I cannot do this without incurring serious and most inconvenient loss; but this is a consideration by which you cannot be "deflected one inch from the path of uprightness and honour;" and it is only mentioned as a reason for my adding that I presume my receiving my passports and going on the Con-

24 PROBABLE RUPTURE WITH UNITED STATES.

tinent do not cancel my commission as minister, or suspend my credit with the Barings for salary, until I am recalled by the President. My functions, although not exercised in diplomatic intercourse with the government here, are at the discretion of the President only.

I have just received your private letter of the 7th inst., in which you say that, having heard Mr. Crampton had sent to his government an elaborate defence of his course, you "inferred that the discussion is to be further protracted." This inference squares with what Lord Aberdeen seemed to consider as highly expedient: and, indeed, as the matter of foreign enlistment has taken the foreground of our differences, and has been managed by you with so much force and labour, I should regret your leaving anything by which your powerful argument of the 28th of December can be fortified, so as to repel the new assault. I would cheerfully take the labour upon myself, in order to relieve you; but your familiarity with the subject will probably make it easy, and the additional evidence in your hands has not been sent here. Besides, a reasonable delay on our side, for a substantial reason, after the long delay on theirs, merely on the ground of Lord Clarendon's absence, can only enure to our benefit, by letting the parliamentary scene of action be fully developed. It may be that a change of ministry on the Peace question would save trouble all round.

This peace is very generally regarded as one forced upon the government, and in truth a botchery and a sham. Rumour will have it that Louis Napoleon has been too lavish in personal as well as national expenditure, and that he *insisted* upon closing a war whose next campaign (not necessary to preserve the military prestige of France) might drive himself and his public chest into bankruptcy. One of the already apparent effects of the peace is the universal bitterness against England on the Continent, and the general chorus in praise of France.

The ministry are trying to make capital out of the Italian question. But nothing will give brightness to the illumination which has been resolved upon; and to maintain the tranquillity of which, in this discontented and mortified metropolis, Horse Guards and Life Guards are deemed necessary. Riot is anticipated; but the affair is too lifeless to kindle excitement; it will pass off as a mockery.

Some attention is given here to our fermentation preparatory to the coming Presidential election, and I am frequently asked as to its probable result. Of course I can give them nothing better than conjecture; and they regard it as "quite odd" that, notwithstanding the character of the new House of Representatives, and the election of a *Black* as Speaker, I should be confident of a democratic success. They do not seem to speculate upon deriving any advantage from our defeat; indeed, they rather despise

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the doctrine of "America for the Americans;" and what they consider the total disappearance of the Whig party, their old allies, leaves them very suspicious of the new factions. I think, too, our steady adherence to republican doctrines, accompanied by the constantly augmenting prosperity and power of the country, are visibly undermining their former prejudices, and letting in upon their thoughts, their manners, and even their conversation, a great deal more democracy than they themselves are conscious of. I see this in every rank of society, and perhaps more among the nobles and titled than in other classes.

As soon as Lord Clarendon returns to the Foreign Office, Herran says he will open upon him the recession of the Bay Islands to Honduras, upon Mr. Squier's plan. I will bear in mind the views of your No. 7. The Earl is reported to me as decidedly favourable to the scheme; and it is possible that he may catch at it as the only mode of disentangling this government from the absurd misconstruction he gave to the treaty of 1850.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, April 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Last evening Lord Palmerston laid upon the table of the House of Commons the papers relating

to our differences. Of what the packet consists I have not yet ascertained. It can hardly contain the reply to your letter of 28th December, because up to this hour that reply has not been sent to this legation. In the Lords, Lord Clarendon promised the papers early next week.

I wrote by the Hermann, which steamed from Southampton last Wednesday, a rather lengthy letter to you on the subject of the expected reply. I was anxious that you should get my views as early as possible, founded, as they are, on information perfectly reliable. I presume you will get that letter either before or about the same time with this, and will not, therefore, repeat its contents further than to say that your request for the recall of Mr. Crampton will be declined *upon the basis of fresh statements and proof furnished by Mr. Crampton*, and in a tone vastly improved from the former envenomed one.

All London is laughing at the ridiculous mishaps which occurred owing to the mismanagement of the arrangements for the great Naval Review of the day before yesterday. Both Houses of Parliament discussed them for an hour last night, and a morning journal contains a long article, full of fun, but considering the whole affair as somewhat a failure, and as a sort of representation of the mismanagement of Balaklava. The Peers and Commons, pompously invited to be near the Queen, were left in the lurch. Lord Palmerston was twice, in the tumultuous mêlée,

turned out of rail-cars by the conductors. Lords of Council and high Church dignitaries, and Chief Justice Campbell underwent all sorts of annoyances and delays. What became of the Diplomatic body nobody can tell. A huge steamer ran down a gun-boat. The manœuvring was indistinct and uninteresting, and finally nothing seems left to comfort the originators of this magnificent turn-out, but the certain facts that the number of vessels of war was 240, and their aggregate armament 3,002 guns! I am not sorry that I abstained from being "there to see."

Lord Clarendon reached London on the evening of Monday, the 21st instant. I received the usual official notification on the afternoon of the 22nd, and on the following morning requested an interview. Late last night I got his reply, assigning 4 o'clock this afternoon as the hour, and the Foreign Office as the *locus in quo*. I am therefore afraid that I cannot send you by this opportunity my first impressions of her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Indeed, as I have nothing to discuss with him, I shall be lucky if I can get him to say anything worthy of crossing the Atlantic.

The ministry have lately been several times in the minority in the House of Commons; and some of the newspaper sentinels carefully point to each case as a significant sign of what is coming. But I cannot

yet perceive any really heavy weights tacked to the heels of the administration, but the Peace and the American question. These are certainly pressing them down more and more every hour; but the Premier is a man of great adroitness in extremities, and may yet, by sudden movement, twist round upon its tight rope, and dance off, with Parliament blinded and in tow, and in another direction. Pray observe how, in the distribution of the immense land and naval forces on hand, he is sending a larger force to Canada than they have ever yet had there; other troops to Bermuda; a most extraordinary supply of many millions of ball-cartridges, etc., etc. We have in cotton, to be sure, pretty good bail for the peaceful behaviour of this country, as a general thing; but there are epochs and circumstances in which I should not think that bail sufficient. I have a strong mistrust of France; but that is Mr. Mason's province, not mine.

Allow me to intimate that in these critical times there may be some doubt as to the entire security of the arrangements made by the department with the Cunard steamers, reposing more confidence in them than in the Collins line, by instructing the despatch agent that it is unnecessary to have a special bearer of despatches when the Bag is sent by a Cunarder. No expense is incurred by those bearers of despatches; and our travelling countrymen are always proud to take charge of and faithfully protect what

is meant for you. I don't question the integrity of the Cunard officers, but the public impression may be the other way; and all on board steamships are not officers.

You will have read in the newspapers the Treaty of Peace. The entire document breathes a spirit of tenderness for Russia and indifference to England. Public opinion here has become so pronounced about it, that the formal illumination preparing by government is universally sneered at, and even in the House of Commons has been laughed at and ridiculed.

I have just received a communication from Mr. Mason, dated Paris, the 24th instant. He tells me that he has embraced my idea about our Mediterranean squadron (which I think I sent to you in my letter of the 18th April), and has written to that effect to Commodore Broese.

I sometimes wish for your sake that I wrote a larger and bolder hand. I am conscious that eyes of a respectable period of life ought not to be severely taxed; but my habit is inveterate, and I am forced to this tiny chirography, if I write at all.

I have got nothing requiring the solemnity of a despatch.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

P. S.—I have opened this to add that I have had my interview with Lord Clarendon; that I said I had come, first to pay my personal respects, and

second to inquire within what reasonable time I might expect, for transmission to you, the reply to your letter of the 28th December last. He was, of course, exceedingly pleased to form my acquaintance, and said he would send *me* a note, perhaps on Monday next, certainly before the next steamer left. This led me to suppose that there is something coming separate from the reply.

We talked over the negotiations at Paris. He is certainly not satisfied, but remarked that he had had no wish to humiliate Russia by the terms of the treaty. More at another time.

TO MR. J. Y. MASON.

London, May 2, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

It will be agreeable to you, no doubt, to know that your despatch to Governor Marcy, respecting the course things took about privateering, was received here just in time to enable me, after hastily reading it, to seal and put it in the Bag for the steamer Asia to-morrow.

Governor Marcy, who long ago took into his own management the correspondence on the Enlistment question, still retains it. We shall probably know nothing on that subject, beyond what we at present know, for six weeks to come; and then I do not, under the existing circumstances, expect a definitive

stage to be reached. Possibly the controversy may drag its slow length along until Congress rises. If our State Department continue firm, Baron Brunow (to whom I send my cordial and most respectful remembrances) will, I feel assured, be proved a better prophet than either Count Walewski or Lord Cowley. I refer, of course, to the contents of your letter.

Your exceedingly kind invitation to Paris has given us all much pleasure. The ladies would enjoy nothing better; and the opportunity of one of "the sights"—the sight of yourself and family—would be sure to compensate them for the annoyances of travelling. But this distracting legation requires incessant watchfulness, especially now that the opening spring induces such shoals of our countrymen to come abroad; and as to a compulsory visit, if it occur at all, it will hardly occur until the middle of summer.

Sincerely yrs.

TO ADMIRAL BEECHEY.

24 Portland Place, April 8, 1856.

Mr. Dallas, the American Minister, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Admiral Beechey's note of to-day, apprising him that the Council of the Royal Geographical Society had awarded to Dr. Kane, of the United States, the Gold

Medal of the Society, for the distinguished conduct and discoveries of that gentleman in the Arctic regions, and for the great zeal and energy displayed, under circumstances of great privation and suffering, in the search for Sir John Franklin.

Mr. Dallas hears of this tribute, alike generous and just, to the services of his countryman, in the cause of science and humanity, with much sensibility and pride. He will attend at the Anniversary meeting, on the 26th instant, agreeably to the invitation of the Council, and in receiving the medal will undertake its safe transmission to Dr. Kane.*

* When Admiral Beechey, in the presence of the Royal Geographical Society, handed this Gold Medal to the American Minister, it was acknowledged by the following short address:—

MR. PRESIDENT,

On behalf of my fellow-citizen, Dr. Elisha K. Kane, I receive, with equal pride and pleasure, this testimonial, awarded by your learned body to his ability and services in that branch of human knowledge to which you are specially devoted.

His country also, even now engaged in expressing her high sense of his deserts, will be gratified to learn that her judgment, which might possibly be ascribed to partiality, has been thus sanctioned.

Young as he yet is, and fairly entitled to count upon many years of zealous intellectual activity, he can never achieve a prouder recognition, considered in all its aspects, than this Medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London.

Dr. Kane, as is personally known to me, entered upon his career of Arctic exploration under the influence of sentiments which were strengthened rather than shaken by its depicted terrors. In the medical department of the Navy of the United States, on a remote station, his government scarcely intimated

TO MR. MARCY.

London, May 6, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

After the despatch sent you by the steamer of Saturday, the 3rd instant, I have not enough on hand for another of that formal character by to-morrow's. Perhaps Lord Clarendon's reply to yours of the 28th December, will be enough for some time to come. I was surprised at finding it printed in the *Times* and *Post* on the very morning the

a disposition to join in the search for Sir John Franklin before he hurried forward to volunteer an enlistment for that noble purpose. There was a voice upon the breeze that had caught his ear. An ardent fondness for scientific studies impelled him to a fresh field of research. A daring and irrepressible spirit of enterprise co-operated with much experience and peculiar attainments. He went—he went twice; and, though he vainly offered his own life to rescue another's, he brought back with him observations, verifications, discoveries, and delineations worthy to be accepted by the masters of geographical science. If, as I believe was the case, he penetrated to; and actually beheld, the ice-encircled yet open sea, whose existence had been predicated of the periodical northern flight of aquatic birds, of certain currents, and of other *indicia*, he may justly feel that the practical solution of an interesting problem has earned the honour of your approbation.

I do not wish, Mr. President, to eulogize my countryman. You are far more competent than myself to appreciate the exact value of what he has effected. Your Council have affixed to his record this, their Great Seal, and, at your invitation, and with alacrity, I assume the grateful task of transmitting it safely to his hands.

steamer sailed. You will probably have received it in that shape.

This reply is more than commonly conciliatory in tone, and its concluding paragraphs are thought to evince a sincere desire to avoid a breach. Although it imports a refusal to recal, it avoids saying so expressly ; and it may be construed as withholding a definitive answer until you have had an opportunity to consider the denials of the four honourable gentlemen, with the budget of loose and wanton affidavits. Of all the acts to which this government has resorted in defence of their officials, I cannot help regarding the procuring and publishing such a mass of gossiping slander as the most disgraceful. To be sure, the letter of Strobel to Mr. Crampton, demanding 100*l.*, and threatening to turn State's evidence if he be not sent the means to quit the country, is very, very bad, and he must cease to be relied upon, whatever may have been his former character. That letter, however, like those of Mr. Crampton and others, adduced on the trial of Hertz, is substantive proof in itself ; it is incapable of being explained away. Not so the absurd tittle-tattle and hearsay, often three degrees removed, invoked from ignorant and prejudiced men to destroy the statements of Hertz and others. This is all garbage with which Lord Clarendon and Mr. Crampton should have disdained to foul their pens. Still, it will have its intended effect upon the minds of superficial examiners, and

I need not say that these count as a thousand to one against the reflecting and analyzing. Hence the expediency of commenting upon it, and, if within your power, of dispelling it by some strong testimony, such as that to which you have referred in one of your private letters. Even if you decide to send Mr. Crampton his passports, I would accompany that final measure with reasons, incorporating a complete refutation of these pretences of a Quarter-sessions character, why you regard further correspondence or argument as unnecessary and uncalled for.

There are gentlemen here who take another view of Lord Clarendon's reply. They represent it as an effort to persuade you to let him off upon the basis of a generous adherence to public agents misled by zeal in the service of their country; upon the ground that they were not lawyers, and did not exactly apprehend the legal character of the steps they were taking; upon the unwillingness to rest a quarrel on evidence derived from sources partially tainted and equivocal; and, more than all, upon what they regard as an appeal to your magnanimity, not to persevere after reiterated expressions of regret, and upon receiving renewed and cordial assurances of goodwill and friendship. If I could take this view I would certainly and frankly urge you to act upon it, as it must, I think, be admitted, that your doing so could only be ascribed to a forbearance

in favour of peace. But I cannot so construe the sweeping and merciless and foul attack to which Lord Clarendon has lent his high station and higher name against the motives, the officers, and the proceedings of the American government. Our judges are all under executive or party control; our district attorneys and marshals are all subservient and venal; our citizens, if witnesses, all corrupt and perjured; and our juries, grand and petit, unworthy of confidence! Such is the impression which this extraordinary paper, if not repelled conclusively, must have upon the general mind of Europe. I do not, I cannot, believe that Lord Clarendon had carefully considered the miserable tissue of wanton scandal he was sending you, or the extent to which it necessarily carried him. There it is, however, and you are forced to deal with it exactly as he has shaped it, and as the world will understand it. Had it been read to the assembled representatives of the seven Great Powers, in the Congress at Paris, it would have been hailed with smiles as an exposure precur-sive of the downfall of republicanism, and might have formed a protocol, or at least an annex to a protocol, like the menace against the free press of Belgium. I wonder whether it may not in fact have had the *imprimatur* of a majority of this great league of rulers against the rights and liberties of the ruled? Orloff is the only one (no, his colleague Brunow, is another) from whom I should expect

resistance to its adoption. You must excuse this latitude of remark. I am generally cool, but now and then heated by trifles; and I know your temperament too well to fear that any sudden extravagance of mine can possibly mislead you.

I am just now struck with the idea that, if you inclined to postpone giving the final blow on the enlistment question, your object might be best attained by simply asking Lord Clarendon, if it was intended by her Majesty's government to superadd to the many unpleasant features of the correspondence, the adoption, as true, of the various imputations grossly made in the affidavits which accompanied his reply, against the integrity and honour of the judicial and executive officers of the United States? I think such a brief interrogatory would let him understand your sense of the proceeding, and would oblige him to do one of two things, either to say Yes, in which case you would have a unanimous feeling at home, or to say No, and that would take from the affidavits all title to any respect whatever, and leave you free to act upon the general tone of his reply. If we are to quarrel let us do it with the entire approbation of the American people, and then consequences need not be apprehended.

I returned Baron Brunow's visit to-day, and had a long conversation with him as private friends. I knew him intimately when in St. Petersburg in 1838. He is here only for a short time, to announce

the death of Nicholas! I reproached him for having, at the Conference in Paris, entered into the English project of abolishing privateers, although his country had so little interest in the matter, and he perfectly knew that it was aimed exclusively at the great defensive weapon of the United States against British disposition to go to war with us. I observed to him, see what the result is of having sympathized with Russia for two years!—we have a fierce contest about enlistments in violation of our neutrality laws, and at the very first occasion Russia throws her weight into the scale of our adversary, and enables her to claim to be backed by all Christendom! He made many efforts at excuse, but said, finally, "What could we do?" "I'll tell you what you could and what you ought to have done," said I. "You might have admitted the general plausibility of the idea, and expressed a readiness to co-operate in abolishing privateering, provided in advance of any combined declaration on the subject, the assent of *all maritime* nations be obtained. You should have abstained from an unwillingness to exercise a species of moral coercion over Powers not represented in your Conference. In that way, without naming the United States, you would not have lent yourself to putting them in the wrong." The Baron was quite overthrown by the suggestion, and treated it as unanswerable. I think it very likely that Mr. Stoeckl will be instructed to make all sorts of

explanation. In the course of the talk, which was
 quite protracted, I asked him his opinion about our
 points of difference with this government. "Don't
 be worried," he replied, "they will be settled.
 They may not recall Crampton; but if he be dis-
 missed, they will make light of it, or their indigna-
 tion will be mildly expressed and of very short
 duration. No ministry would last a month, in the
 present condition of England, that should quarrel
 with the United States. As to a war with you, they
 dare not attempt it." He thinks Count Kreptovitch,
 a son-in-law of Nesselrode, will be sent to this Court
 as ambassador from the Czar.
 I have just got your two private letters of the
 20th and 25th April, and cordially thank you for
 them. You are somewhat more costive than I am,
 and therefore every word is of greater value.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO JUDGE JOEL JONES.

London, May 9, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I find private correspondence to be a luxury
 very difficult to enjoy at this post. The perpetual
 stream of visitors from the United States, the
 exactions of Court ceremonials, the endless series of
 entertainments and hospitalities, combine, with the
 necessities of business and the despatches to Governor

Marcy twice a week, to run me fairly out of all time. I have no objection to the hardest work, but I would really delight in an hour or two occasionally for private and personal intercourse with such absent friends as you. That I should have been able to write you but one letter since I came here is a conclusive proof of my slavery. At this moment the mail for the Liverpool steamer of to-morrow morning is making up, and I scribble under whip and spur.

I cut the enclosed paragraph from one of the London newspapers. It is probably coined in the mint of an adversary who had his own purposes in view. As far as it refers to me, it is without the shadow of foundation. On its topic, I have no correspondent to whom I could or would write but yourself. The Committee of which you are the leading member have that matter in their own hands, and I do not intend in the remotest manner to interfere with it.

You perceive that out of the conferences at Paris, and especially out of the alliance of France and England, has emerged a more formidable league of sovereign powers against peoples than has yet been witnessed by modern times. The end is not perceptible at first glance; but I am much mistaken if the principle of rapid decay be not seated in the very heart of that league, and if its rotten fragments be not shaken to the earth by popular convulsions, and that at no distant day.

Of course I cannot write about my prospects as minister to any one *extra mœnia* of the State Department. Let me, however, intimate my opinion that I have gone far in accomplishing one of two things; putting our country in the right, if we are obliged to quarrel, or leading men's minds to a purpose and tone of conciliation. Governor Marcy has now the world before him, and with Providence as his guide he cannot fail to achieve a great result.

Always truly and faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, May 13, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

We have quite a difference of opinion, in private circles and in the newspapers, whether it be safer to illuminate for the Peace or not to illuminate. The night assigned is the 29th instant. Many say the mob will attack the non-illuminated; but others allege the Peace to be so unpopular that he who ventures on glorification will be in danger. The diplomats, who care only for the safety of their windows, are puzzled how to act. One of my colleagues, residing opposite me, is so much of a courtier that he is bent upon a great blaze; while another, who adjoins me, looks rather glum and doubtful, and talks of *les lampions* with distrustful shakes of the head. I must own that my inclination is to keep

dark, and leave tomfoolery to the rest of the world; but then, peace is *per se* a good, may certainly be innocently rejoiced over without becoming a party to it, and the smashing of panes of glass by a crowd around one's house, if to be done at all, is to be preferred as against the spirit of the police, rather than with their quasi-connivance. If you were accessible by the telegraphic wire, I should, as I suppose all the European representatives have done with their courts, ask for instructions, and abide the consequences. That small obstacle, the Atlantic Ocean, shields you from the necessity of deciding the important point.

Now, although this treatment of the crisis be jest, the very doubt as to the course safest to be taken speaks strongly the character of the treaty as respects England. It has passed the ordeal of Parliament, though with some hard hits. The abandonment of Schamyl and his Caucasians to their fate, the forbearance toward Nicholaief, the abolition of privateering, the surrender of established legal rights of belligerents, the shameless truckling to the indecent attack upon the freedom of the Belgian press, and, after all, the little security obtained against Russian ambition; although they were not pressed as matters to justify opposition to the address of the Queen, were, nevertheless, put in, *protestando*, as items in reserve for future attacks upon the ministry.

Lord Palmerston, just at this moment, seems to be

in as victorious an attitude as any British premier has ever held. He has baffled the combination on the surrender of Kara, has boldly carried the peace through, has vindicated the protocols, even when defying Walewski's effort "to gag a free press," and has dexterously managed to postpone our American differences to a distant day. In the mean time, he sides with Sardinia on the Italian question, and stands by Turkey in a separate convention secretly made between her, Austria, France, and England, much to the offence of Russia. His majorities are large, and his party is full of exultation. Still, there is that thorn of America in his side, *hæret lethalis*, and if it do not bring him to the ground, it will be because you may come to his relief, or he may suddenly, by the indications in France, discover the expediency of greater conciliation in his relations with us. All men of opinions worth anything agree in saying (I should not be surprised to hear it from his own lips) that a conflict with the United States is the only thing he could not stand for six months, or even half that time. His power is immense, but that is a rock on which, if he touch, he foundera.

I have carefully watched, from day to day, the official distribution of the recent armada off Portsmouth, and must confess that I have not been able to detect any such disposition of the force as would warrant anxiety. If there be any hostile preparation going on, it is most successfully veiled. Lord Elgin

has a motion *in petto* respecting the troops recently sent to Canada; but his object, as I gather from himself, is not so much to complain of what has been done, as to make an occasion to warn against going further, so as to arouse our susceptibilities and jealousies. I feel confident that the result of the experiment tried a year ago, of ordering a squadron abruptly to the West, was not such as will encourage its repetition. The ministry, if set upon quarrelling with us, and I am yet to perceive any decidedly amicable disposition, will not go to work in that way, but will coolly strive to put us in the wrong, and make us at least appear to be aggressive enough to rouse the loyalty and passions of their people. Lord Elgin's motion will come up soon after the holidays, say about the 20th instant.

The special instruction to ask for an answer to your despatch of the 28th December came *too late*. I had mooted the matter with Lord Clarendon as soon as he reached the Foreign Office from Paris, and his reply will, upon a fair calculation, be in your hands the day after to-morrow. I hope you may rest, after its perusal, for a week, and give my letter of last Saturday a chance of conveying a hint or two of some importance.

I have nothing worthy to be worked up into a formal despatch. I send you, however, a parliamentary document of some interest, "Correspondence respecting the late negotiation with Japan," recently

laid upon the tables of the two Houses. It shows a neat and exact imitation of the example set by Commodore Perry.

You introduced to me citizen * * * * of California, and of course he was cordially welcomed. With a generous ambition, he sought the eye of royalty, and I presented him at the levée. By some mistaken movement of her arm, the Queen led him to kneel and kiss her hand! If you remember him you will smile. Our democrats make pretty good courtiers, for they are generally men practically of the world.

Politics at home look to be in a fine state of fermentation; the democracy, sanguine as usual, preparing to go it blind. Rest assured that the adversary's fragments, which appear now to be so disjointed and broken, will at the eleventh hour fly together and form a powerful whole. It is so obviously their only chance that I cannot presume them silly enough to overlook it. And if we do not, at Cincinnati, shun the loadstone rock, which seems, at this distance, to be attracting all kinds of floating craft, and to be drawing out the bolts and rivets of our party, we shall sink. And at what period of constitutional history are we incurring this risk! If the administration are forced to back down on the great Kansas question, and they will assuredly be so if gentlemen like Mr. ———, and Mr. ———, and Mr. ——— are to attain their purpose, we shall have

a restoration of the ruinous Monroe doctrine, "*the era of good feeling*," sapping and subverting every honest and solid principle of the democratic creed. It really "behooves you, then, to apply your finest art," "*ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica!*"

I hope you will not fail to write me precisely the wishes of yourself and the President in regard to my course of action, should you dismiss Mr. Crampton, and I be dismissed in return. Although public considerations must not bend for a moment, or to the breadth of a hair, to considerations of personal convenience, yet, when they can be perfectly harmonized, attention may justly be paid to both.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, May 16, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

A great contest, big with the ultimate disruption of Church and State, has been going on here for some time, and has, to the surprise of almost everybody, brought Lord Palmerston plump on his knees before the Archbishop of Canterbury. About three weeks ago, Sir Benjamin Hall, First Commissioner of Works, Parks, Palaces, and Public Buildings, after obtaining the sanction of the Premier, ordered some fine military bands to play for an hour or more in the parks on the afternoons of Sunday.

The music attracted immense crowds. In Regent's Park, close by me, the number assembled, counted officially at the gates, fell little short of 100,000 men, women, and children, on a single occasion. The Sabbatarians, scandalized and alarmed, rushed to the rescue. All the newspapers took sides; some in favour of amusing the toil-worn populace in so harmless a way, others decrying it as the prolific source of demoralization and turbulence. At last the pillars of the Church are shaken into action. The Archbishop writes to Lord Palmerston. Lord Palmerston sulks, reiterates his liberal opinion and advice on the matter, and formally abates the music. A slight apprehension is entertained that the disappointed, on Sunday next, the day after to-morrow, will show their spunk and vexation by some outbreaks. No fear of that at the present epoch. John Bull is as effectually nozzled, and foot-tied, under the auspices of police, Horse Guards, and Life Guards, as his majestic representation, the Lion, in the Zoological Gardens, is caged in iron.

Further reflection upon Lord Clarendon's reply to your letter of the 28th December last has settled down into a very general opinion that the President will dismiss Mr. Crampton as soon as you receive it. This impression is strengthened by the intercepted correspondence of the Foreign Office with the Costa Ricans; a correspondence, to be sure, which we have very little to do with, but which shows Lord

Clarendon's meddlesome and inimical spirit and policy to be rather worse than had been supposed in relation to Central America. Had the President recognized the existing government in Nicaragua I should have been disposed to ask his lordship whether these intercepted letters were genuine, and what he meant by lending arms against an independent State on the Isthmus. Such a question would hardly need a reply, and yet his lordship would be put to his trumps in making a civil and honest answer. As it is, however, I suppose we can't find fault with his helping a friendly power to resist a filibuster. I am not sure that you have not been too scrupulous and cautious in your policy as to Walker. At all events I hope that these meddling manifestations from this quarter may be made the avowed platform of a decisive movement on our part. We should displace this entering wedge by a quick and well-aimed stroke.

By the time you get this you will be in the midst of the agitation of the Cincinnati Convention, from which I wish ourselves a safe deliverance.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. J. P. H.

London, May 16, 1856.

MY DEAR H.,

Did I not know your friendship, as well as your constant engagements, I should take it for

granted that you had finally given me up as one of the lost. Are you always too busy to write letters?

We have got into a quiet, comfortable house in Portland Place, and we are gradually introducing ourselves to the mysteries of London housekeeping. The system is simple enough, as it devolves the whole trouble upon servants, allowed to expend what they think necessary, and expected to account at the expiration of every week. Simple, certainly; but as to economy, quite another thing.

I am kept hard at work in the legation in a variety of ways; but never having contracted a distaste for labour, I get along tolerably well. Phil is indefatigable and always at hand.

Politics are anything but satisfactory. I found on my arrival a fixed anti-American set in the ministerial and social classes, and entered upon a determination to break that down, first, by frankness and conciliation, if they would answer, if not, then, second, by open defiance. Our countrymen here tell me that my success has been complete: but let us wait a little longer before too confident a conclusion. To go to war with us is an extravagance which I am certain would upset any ministry in less than six months, if not on the instant; but I doubt much their disposition to forego their great luxury of treating us with insult and contumely. Their hospitality and kindness to me and my family have certainly been unmeasured; but the region of national

relations and policy is widely separated from that of mere personal intercourse. Should Mr. Crampton be dismissed by Gov. Marcy I think we may look out for a series of retaliatory and recriminating acts between the two countries, which must lead, at no distant day, to the final trial of strength. When we are driven to that, we must throw the scabbard away, and tie the hilt to the hand.

The ladies upstairs are all well, and not yet tired, as I am heartily, of the gaieties of the great London season. I wish you would bring two or three of your circle over, and give them a chance while I am here (not long, mark that!) to see the Court of Queen Victoria, as splendid now as it ever has been or ever will be. All this magnificence of ceremonial and pretension is fast being undermined, even among the proudest peers, by our republican principles accompanied by our wonderful prosperity; and before any one of your children reaches fifty, it will have vanished, like the hues of a rainbow, for ever. Let them see it before it fades away.

Many affectionate remembrances to yours.

Ever truly and faithfully.

TO MR. J. Y. MASON.

London, May 24, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have had the enclosed letter by me for some time, undetermined what direction to give it,

and now it occurs to me that I may enclose it to you, and beg you to address it for me to wherever the Commodore may be. I have put on an extra envelope and leave it unsealed, so that you can perceive its subject is a purely private inquiry, having no connection with public topics.

The matter on which we have heretofore exchanged views is not yet sufficiently developed to be decided upon finally one way or the other. I have been unable, though always on the watch since the great review of Portsmouth, to perceive any such naval distribution as would warrant anxiety. As, however, I have reason to expect, in the course of the coming three weeks, something definite from Washington in reference to the Earl of Clarendon's last communication on the recruitment question (a communication, by-the-by, of a tone so remarkably calm and conciliatory that it would have had a strong effect towards entire adjustment had not its writer, heedlessly, and without some disclaimer of official adoption, connected with it a series of wantonly vituperative affidavits), and therefore think it safest to let things remain as they are for a month longer.

Always sincerely yrs.

TO JUDGE KANE.

London, May 27, 1856.

MY DEAR JUDGE,

It gave me peculiar pleasure to attend the Royal Geographical Society yesterday. Their Gold Medal, a very beautiful piece of art by-the-by, which I received on behalf of the Doctor, was accompanied by a handsome notice from the President, Admiral Beechey. My short reply I have written out for the especial benefit of my valued friend, Mrs. Kane, and take the liberty to enclose it. As no important business closes in London without a dinner, and a series of table-speeches, the Doctor was toasted, and, as the guardian of his fame for the nonce, I addressed about two hundred philosophers and explorers with a review of his whole life. He was cheered from beginning to end. The medal is transmitted in a small screwed box to the Department of State by my despatch bag. Let me hear of its safe arrival.

I suppose all this should take the appearance of stately form, but I am bound to fulfil other engagements, and really must throw myself upon the indulgence of yourself and the Doctor. Mr. Marcy waits for me.

My warm regards to all the family.

Ever truly yrs.

TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

24 Portland Place, May 28, 1856.

MY DEAR LORD,

No one has yet, to my knowledge, arrived from the United States to whom I could venture to refer you as a person fully and accurately informed on the topic of the note I have had the honour to receive from your Grace to-day. Nor can I hope to meet one so early as by Friday next.

The comparatively private mode of inflicting capital punishment has not been long practised, and has probably not attracted the general and careful attention to which it is entitled. Opinions as to its effects on the people, contrasted with the effects of the old public executions, may not be uniform; but I am disposed to think that experience is fast dispelling the jealousies and doubts which were felt when the change was introduced. Of course this remark refers exclusively to my own country, and it is not made with the confidence which a thorough knowledge of facts and a close investigation might inspire.

If I am fortunate enough to meet a fellow-countryman, on whom, in regard to this inquiry, perfect reliance can be placed, I will hasten to apprise you; or, if it be likely that your movement may be protracted so long as to enable me to write home, and receive back the views of one or two gentlemen

whom I have in my eye, I will undertake to do so with great pleasure.

With sincere respect, I am truly yrs.



TO MR. J. Y. MASON.

(Private.)

Legation of the United States.

London, May 31, 1856

SIR,

Incidents affecting the relations between this country and the United States are crowding so rapidly upon us that too much vigilance and precaution cannot be exercised to ward off or to mitigate the consequences of an explosion which may possibly happen at any moment.

You will therefore excuse me for suggesting the expediency of warning the Commander of our Mediterranean Squadron to be, at this juncture, extremely careful not to put himself in a situation open to surprise, and to keep himself and his force ready for any sudden emergency. The clouds which now threaten may blow over; but as experience has not taught us to rely upon the plausible professions of British statesmen, unconfirmed by ascertained facts, I am anxious to put every one on guard. The detection of the correspondence with Costa Rica, the intermeddling of Capt. Tarleton with our steamer, the Orizaba, the reception by the government of the new minister, Padre Vigil, from Nicaragua, and the

overwhelming denial given by Mr. Clayton to one of Mr. Crampton's boldest assertions, combined with the daily expectation of hearing that this latter gentleman has been dismissed, maintain the public pulse at fever heat, which may precipitate secret action.

I am most respectfully, very truly yrs.

TO MR. E. G. SQUIER.

(Private.)

London, June 1, 1856.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 28th May, 1856, did not reach me until the 30th, after I had seen Mr. Brown, and requested him to convey to you my sentiments.

I thank you for the clear and full statement you have given me of your position and views.

It has, no doubt, occurred to you that our government cannot, especially at this juncture, participate in any negotiation having for its object a new disposition of islands over which they can pretend to claim no right of sovereignty whatever. The group, headed by Ruatan, is really part of Honduras, but is occupied and colonized by Great Britain. The question is, therefore, to be adjusted by those two governments exclusively. If the latter can be persuaded by Señor Herran to do what is just and restore the islands unconditionally to Honduras, such a course will be cordially approved by the United States: first, as a measure of right; second, as a measure

favourable to the independence of their own commerce and intercourse ; and third, as a measure removing practically one of the leading causes of difficulty with this country.

If, however, the restitution cannot be effected, except upon terms or stipulations which would divest it of substantial and permanent character, leaving the islands subject in the remotest degree to English influence or law, and ready to relapse at a more prosperous moment into their present colonial dependence, the United States could not fail to regard it with disfavour: first, as a source of future quarrel between Honduras and Great Britain; second, as on the part of the latter only a plausible evasion of an exciting issue; and third, as legalizing, without substantially disarming, the actual usurpation.

I do not think that the government at Washington would find anything in the *three conditions* you have enumerated at all questionable; but there is something in your suggestion about admitting the inhabitants to the enjoyment of special municipal rights which savours of keeping up the distinction between the English citizens and the other citizens of Honduras, and so facilitating the future relapse to which I have adverted. To this the President would probably seriously object. Perhaps you have stated it somewhat vaguely; and, indeed, until the "special municipal rights" are distinctly enumerated, I do not wish to hazard a positive opinion.

The moment is perhaps unfavourable to action. The two nations are much excited by the recent events, and are watching each other with extreme jealousy. It is not merely impossible for me to leave London for an hour, but I should fear that my meeting Messrs. Herran and Alvarado just now anywhere would excite suspicions and impede their progress. In a short time the cloud will either disappear or burst.

I am very respectfully yrs.

TO MR. D.

London, June 6, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

A watchful solicitude induces me to send you the enclosed slip from one of the newspapers.

My best regards wait on you and yours. If the *Times* and the *Post* are reliable organs, I shall probably quit England soon, *never* to return; an indiscriminating retaliation amounts to an original insult, and will require many years to be forgotten. It will not surprise me if I should turn out to be the last minister from the United States to the British Court, and that will certainly be fame if it be not honour.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, June 6, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have nothing worthy of a formal despatch by the steamer of to-morrow.

The report of Captain Tarleton on the affair of the *Orizaba* has not yet been received. I shall wait a day or two longer, and if I do not get from the F. O. by that time the copy I expect, the case of Captain Tinklepaugh will be spread out in writing, as it was in conversation, and definite replies be asked to definite interrogatories.

Lord Palmerston said last evening in the House of Commons that this government had received *indirect* information of Mr. Crampton's having been dismissed. This information, if your letter of the 23rd May be, as it of course must be, accurate, cannot be well founded. No later intelligence than that of the *Atlantic*, which reached here on the 4th inst., after leaving New York on the 24th May, has been received. The recognition of *Vigil* is fast passing into the same category of permanent, but incurable, and therefore to be tolerated, causes of reproach to our government and people as the annexation of Texas, the displacement of the poor Indians, or the constitutional recognition of Slavery. There is no use in crying over spilt milk; the thing is done, cannot be undone, can in fact do no harm, and may

as well be forgotten, except so far as it serves the purpose of an occasional fling at the mobocracy of America.

If mischief grow at all out of Vigil's reception, rest assured it will be quickened by compost from France. The rumoured Spanish movement against Mexico, a movement which should put General Gadsden and our Home Squadron on the alert, involves an ulterior purpose of Louis Napoleon's: either to send a scion of his imperial house to the hall of the Montezumas; or to extirpate Walker, or so to involve Spain and Mexico in war as to furnish to the former a plausible excuse for transferring Cuba to England. I am inclined to adopt the last hypothesis. Lord Palmerston, having served the purpose of Louis Napoleon for some months back, is requiring a reciprocation, and Spain is the cat's-paw which the Emperor puts in to stir the fire.

My uncertain position is of course not without its inconveniences, and I am now and then tempted to exclude myself altogether from the world, until the world lets me know definitely whether I am to be decapitated or let go without day. The measure of dismissing me, as *in pari delicto* with that honourable gentleman, Mr. Crampton, savours of an indiscriminating vindictiveness which strongly marks an original insult. Indeed, I am disposed to think that the dignity of our country will make it necessary so to regard that measure, if it be resorted to, and

that, without the amplest apology, we ought never to permit an American minister, or diplomatic agent of any sort, even a consul, to show himself in her Majesty's dominions. My longing for historical fame would certainly be satiated if it were to turn out that I am to be the last of our ministers at this Court. As it could not be ascribed to any fault of mine, and would unerringly indicate the moment at which the doctrine of *delenda est Carthago* began its practical operation, I should be borne down to future ages identified with the commencement of a great period. *Ultimus Romanorum* is better than merely Consul or even Emperor.

The dread of a war with the United States is very general; and the two great interests, manufacturing and mercantile, are beginning to bestir themselves to prevent it if they can. I do not rely so much upon the parliamentary movements of the opposition as upon violent agitation in these interests. The ministerial majority is too great and too mercenary to be in any danger of defeat, until terrified by the clamour of the constituencies. *That* can scarcely be brought to bear upon them until after Lord Palmerston has tried their mettle, and forced them, as he has already once done since I have been here, to stick to him and brave the storm. My conviction, however, is firmer than ever, that if he advances any farther on the road to a quarrel with us, he will suddenly close his administration.

Pray pardon me if I request you to let the President know that I give my adhesion to his reception of Vigil, as indeed I believe I did in one of my former letters.

Always very truly yrs.

TO COL. PEREZEL.

London, June 7, 1856.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 4th inst., requesting a passport from this legation for your wife, on a visit to Hungary, and one for yourself enabling you to accompany her to France, has been received. The circumstances of your case are such as awaken my warmest sympathy, and I sincerely wish it was in my power to send the documents you so urgently desire. But I am without discretion, and under explicit instructions from my government on the subject. You are not a citizen of the United States, and I am expressly prohibited granting a passport to any but a citizen. The declaration of your intention to become a citizen would avail you much while remaining in the United States, but abroad its efficacy is not recognized. I entertain no manner of doubt as to your character and merits, and would cheerfully rely upon your assurances of discretion and care;—but I cannot break through a rule positively prescribed.

Enclosed I return to you the introductory note of Mr. Sedgwick, and the certificate of Mr. Henry Ward Beecher.

I am very respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, June 10, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Fortified by the mail of the Asia, I feel strong hopes of bringing to a close the bickerings of the two countries. The sentiment condemnatory of Mr. Crampton augments in force every day, and is almost as general in this as in our own country. The programme of your course has been, in conversation, anticipated by me, and every reflecting mind accepted it as a desirable termination to the affair. I do not think the ministry will make further stand and hazard a war, in defence of a person now proved so unworthy. If they do, Parliament will drive them from their places.

Should this government, contrary to my *present* expectations, retaliate the dismissal of Mr. Crampton by mine, it is probable that I shall immediately quit London with my family, and fix myself within a promptly accessible distance from our legation at Paris, in rural and private quarters. You have made no disposition to relieve me from the necessary expense of this movement, and, if it has to be made,

I shall be driven to borrowing for the first time in my life: a consequence of *no outfit*. My time is up.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO LORD ABERDEEN.

London, June 11, 1856.

MY DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,

Agreeably to my promise I now have to inform you that Mr. Crampton was sent his passports by the President, and the exequaturs of the three consuls were recalled; but the reasons for doing this are set forth in a despatch addressed to me, which I propose to read in the course of the day to Lord Clarendon. The despatch is in terms and tone of a most conciliatory character; accepts frankly and conclusively the assurances of Lord Clarendon's last letter, so far as her Majesty's government is concerned; but expresses an unchanged conviction as to the personal misconduct of Mr. Crampton and his coadjutors, who have, by disregarding the instructions sent them, and by continuing, even up to January last, to act in violation of our laws, and by misrepresenting the conduct of our public functionaries to the government here, embroiled the two countries, and made themselves objectionable residents in the United States. The despatch is accompanied by a mass of fresh evidence, chiefly from the

very witnesses whose affidavits were appended to Lord Clarendon's communication of the 30th of April.

My only purpose is to describe the features of the despatch I have received, not to make a single comment. Should there, in your lordship's opinion, be no indelicacy in my doing so, it will afford me pleasure to submit the paper to your own perusal.

With the most cordial respect,
I remain very sincerely yrs.

TO SIR HENRY BULWER.

London, June 15, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Your note from Brighton was really very agreeable to me as proof of regard, but in no respect was it at all necessary as explanatory of the circumstance to which it refers. My amiable countryman, Mr. Peabody, omitted to look at the thing on both sides; and while he was anxious that the toast should come from the person most acceptable to me, he forgot that it could not but be personally embarrassing to you. It would be a wretched sort of life, this of ours, if such a long-continued and kindly intercourse as yours and Mr. Crampton could be coolly sacrificed to a table compliment to another. Even my comparatively slight acquaintance with him suggests to me that I shall undergo, when meeting

him, an unpleasant struggle between official decorum and individual feeling.

Pray be assured that I appreciate and sincerely applaud what you did. I place a much higher value upon the note you have written me than upon any specimen of formal eloquence (though aware of your power) with which you could possibly have addressed Mr. Peabody's guests.

I am, very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, June 17, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Hermann leaves Southampton to-morrow, but she has so little repute that I shall do no more than write this short note by her.

Everything since I communicated your two last despatches to Lord Clarendon has worked to a charm. The public excitement augmented every hour. The Opposition in Parliament took an attitude not to be mistaken, and on Friday last, headed by Lord John Russell, opened their battery. Yesterday Lord John put his questions to the Premier in a handsome and impressive speech, and Lord Palmerston announced formally the determination of the cabinet, "not to terminate their present amicable relations with Mr. Dallas." The breakers are avoided; the legation is in deep water again; the Crampton squall has

passed over, rather clearing the sky than otherwise; and there is bright promise of a goodly day to-morrow. No time shall be lost to improve the returning swell of kindly feeling. It is not impossible that prompt negotiation may put an end to all controversy about the treaty. If not, and we resort to arbitration, let me know your preferences and be prepared.

The war, as between the parliamentary parties, will continue; and Lord Derby has threatened a fierce overhauling of the ministerial conduct in the recruitment business. But this last feat of Lord Palmerston secures his position.

Our countrymen here are in great exultation, and lavish upon "Old Marcy" eulogies which my jealousy forbids me to repeat.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, June 24, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have as yet nothing from the Foreign Office for a despatch. The replies to your letters on Central America and recruitment seem to require great care and elaboration. Much effort and skill are certainly necessary to steer through the straits in which the ministry find themselves. The Opposition are resolved to hold them to their

responsibility, and nothing but the highest exercise of the imperturbable temper, adroitness, and ability of Lord Palmerston can save them. In my opinion, however, he will prove himself equal to the task. What may be the tone and purport of the forthcoming answers it is impossible to conjecture; but they cannot incur the extreme hazard of continuing, on either question, the war of words which has already so nearly ruined them; such a course will inflame their adversaries and produce a reaction of panic. If they are calm and moderate, no matter how strongly tinctured with self-esteem, they will pass current, dispel the existing mortification, and disarm many who only insist upon no further provocation to the United States. A vote in either House in such a case would probably be in favour of government.

I constantly hear your two despatches praised, and cannot help thinking that they are producing on the general public an impression of our having been right, and the ministry wrong from the beginning. Even the newspapers, the *Times* and the *Post*, are slowly but obviously retreating from the positions they have heretofore so audaciously maintained. My colleagues of the diplomatic corps, who unanimously foretold my dismissal, chuckle over what they regard as the discomfiture of Palmerston, and give me, *en passant*, an extra smile and squeeze of the hand. I could entertain and perhaps surprise

you with particulars of a similar spirit in other quarters; but there are spheres as to which pen and ink are indiscreet agents of communication.

Messrs. Herran and Alvarado are now here. The former asked this morning by note an interview with Lord Clarendon. They both, with Mr. Squier, called on me yesterday. We conversed freely, but agreed that, before going formally into business, it would be prudent on all sides to await the answers preparing to your despatches, as some clue to the most politic and promising mode of proceeding might be derived from them, and we should, at all events, better understand the dispositions of the British government. These answers, you must recollect, will be put, in print, on the tables of the two Houses of Parliament, as soon as they reach the American Legation. I suppose they will come to me, as Mr. Crampton's passports came to him, after the steamer of to-morrow has sailed.

I enclose, as worthy a moment's conference with Mr. Dobbin, two notes, one from Mr. Hawthorne to me, and the other from Mr. James Rae to Mr. Hawthorne. The quadrant of Paul Jones ought certainly to be among other Revolutionary relics in the Navy Department, and it would give me pleasure to secure it. Should you gentlemen agree with me, let me be duly authorised to purchase, at a reasonable price, on proof of its identity, and give orders how to pay.

The Italian question, you will have noticed, is fast ripening to the dropping point. One of two things must take place, and that speedily, or a popular rise will occur:—either Austria must be allowed to *repress* with her iron squadrons, or vast reforms must be inaugurated under the auspices of Sardinia directly, and of France and England indirectly. Manin eclipses, at least for the time, Mazzini (who, by-the-by, meditates retirement in America) in boldness and prudence; and the liberal Whig Cabinet of St. James are intensely on the *qui vive*. History, a half-century hence, may possibly attribute the recent forbearance of Lord Palmerston, under an indignity from the United States, to his forecasting preparations in favour of Italian unity.

Our nomination for the next Presidential term is rather favourably commented upon here. It is supposed to be auspicious of external tranquillity. But when I express the opinion that its success is certain, they treat me with an incredulous smile, being assured by their wise correspondents and their equally wise newspapers that Mr. Fillmore's election by the House is far more likely. *Nous verrons.*

Our countrymen are prodigious travellers. Every steamer comes loaded with them, on their way first to this legation for passports, and then "*partout en Europe.*" Some have families of eight (!) children with them; others are spending their "honeymoon;" and wandering bachelors sharp set for Paris, the

Pope, the Pyramids, St. Petersburg, or Persia, are countless. What a sinecure of a place has the American Minister in London !

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. M. M.

London, June 26, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The "contretemps" experienced by me at the Levée yesterday is inaccurately stated in the *Times* of to-day, and I can't think that *you* would knowingly sanction a misrepresentation as to myself. I will briefly tell you the facts without a comment.

I took with me to the Palace three American gentlemen. One of these is an eminent professor of civil and military engineering in our Military Academy at West Point, and has the assimilated rank of major in the army. He wore his official costume:—a blue dress coat, with buttons of the engineer corps, blue pantaloons, white vest, black stock, and the common hat.

It was objected, in a manner exceedingly kind and courteous, that he wore a black cravat, had no chapeau, and no sword, and could not thus pass the Queen. I tried once, twice, or thrice to surmount the difficulty by adverting to the *official* character of his dress ; but the rule was express, and there was no discretion to relax it. Pained at the position in

which my estimable countryman was placed, among strangers, and in a place to which he was entirely unaccustomed, I unhesitatingly offered to go home with him, and in this suggestion his companions joined. We retired. It was impossible to do less, and we did no more.

Truly and respectfully yrs.

TO SIR EDWARD CUST.

24 Portland Place, June 26, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR EDWARD CUST,

It has occurred to me that you, as the gentleman best knowing the incidents immediately preceding the opening of the Levée on Wednesday last, the sudden discovery of the insufficiency of a particular costume, and the consequent retirement from the Palace, must be the proper person to whom to address this short note on that subject.

Allow me then to say to you frankly and unreservedly that the idea that what then took place can possibly be attributed to a want of respect to her Majesty, either in my countryman, Professor Mahan, or in myself, occasions surprise as well as sincere pain. No sovereign has more just and more universally recognized claims to affectionate attachment and veneration than your Queen; and I might hope that avowals of sentiment, in public and in private, strengthened by an unaffected gratitude for

the generous distinction and kindness with which I have been honoured, ever since my arrival, as the diplomatic representative of the United States at her Majesty's Court, would render it impossible, even with those who do not personally know me, that I should be suspected, and on an occasion, too, so casual and light, of failing in the respect so eminently due. I disclaim it, Sir Edward, with emphasis, on my own part, as wholly foreign to my nature, and equally foreign to the government and people of the United States; and I disclaim it as unjust to Professor Mahan, and irreconcilable with the high and honourable character he has long maintained in the service of his country.

I remain, Sir Edward, always, etc.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 8, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I sent you a despatch by the Fulton which left Southampton yesterday. Nothing worthy of a fresh one since.

The effort to make of the affair at the Levée something of importance has entirely failed. I have not recognized it as worthy to interfere with the public interests and business under my care. It is dying out as another of the gross exaggerations of the *Times*, springing from hostility to the United States.

The pretence that it originated in an intentional disrespect to the Queen was promptly exploded. As to the merits of the Master of Ceremonies' decision against the admissibility of Professor Mahan's costume, I am disposed to think Sir Edward Cust, though very polite and courteous, acted erroneously, and I suspect he has been told so by those to whose opinions he would be more deferential than to mine. It was a quasi-military official dress, so stated to be by me. The Professor was not an attaché, and was therefore not bound, by what Sir Edward kept harping on as an agreement between himself and Mr. Buchanan, to add anything to his full-dress uniform. The dress of the members of the legation is controlled by the understanding—not so the dress of others, citizens or officers. I have already presented many, on whose persons not a symptom of the diplomatic equipment could be traced beyond the chapeau and sword, and no objection hinted. Even on this very occasion Sir Edward was willing to pass as unexceptionable the militia dress of an adjutant-general of New Jersey, which, though certainly showy (especially with the blue ribbon and gold eagle of the Cincinnati hanging at a button-hole), and highly respectable, can scarcely claim to be on a footing with the *national* costume prescribed by the President for officers in the national service, ranking by assimilation as majors. I find many distinguished connoisseurs of the rules of etiquette entertain the

opinion that Sir Edward was confused in his notions and made a blunder.* It is perhaps from the prevalence of this sentiment that it has been thought expedient to invent two utterly unfounded subterfuges; first, that Lord Clarendon, upon being told what had happened, sent in haste to stop my going away, and to say that her Majesty would receive the Professor; and, second, that her Majesty herself had done so. We left the Palace tranquilly, after

* "Council Hall, Sheffield, July 7, 1856.

"SIR,

I have to acknowledge, on behalf of the Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee, the receipt of your very courteous note of the 24th ult.

"The Committee, in reference to the recent circumstance at the Queen's Levée, further instruct me to say that if your countryman, as is now represented by a portion of the Press, holds a recognized military rank in America, and wore his official costume on the occasion in question, they are of opinion that Sir Edward Cust made an error of judgment in not admitting him, without reference to the components of that dress. The Committee conclude this from their knowledge that Turkish, Persian, and other officials have the right of entrance in their peculiar national dresses. They believe that the regulations on which Sir Edward Cust relied refer only to cases of private individuals, that is, persons not holding office nor rank, which it is now stated your countryman did.

"The Committee also believe that the misrepresentation which the *Times* in the first instance made of the circumstances was designed with a view to still further complicate the differences between our country and yours.

"I have the honour to remain, sir, yr. obed. serv.,

"WM. CYPLES, S. S.

"The Hon. G. M. DALLAS,

"American Minister, etc."

shaking hands with Sir Edward Cust, and without the slightest intimation that the decree of exclusion had been rescinded.

This really frivolous matter has worried me personally more than I would be willing to admit; but I have been extremely guarded and forbearing to prevent its having any influence whatever upon the discussions now proceeding as to Central America. The French newspapers hailed its first appearance in the *Times* with delight, and seemed to gloat on a fresh opportunity of fanning discord between England and the United States. They fired up incontinently at the effort to advance another step in the usurpations of democracy! We may yet have a Congress of Sovereigns to teach dress and manners, whose protocols will be accompanied by photographic illustrations of the only tolerable "shorts," "tights," "vests," "cravats," "rapiers," and head-gear!

Since my interview with Lord Clarendon on Monday last, I have twice conferred with Mr. Herran, who has been received by Lord C., and whose course of action as to the Bay Islands is alike intelligent and frank. He carefully advises with me at every step, and he assures me that he confidently expects to get the islands back. That point worked through, we ought really not to quarrel.

I send you the whole American debate in the House of Commons, as reported in the *Times*. You

will recognize the ability of Mr. Gladstone's speech. Lord Palmerston, by dropping Crampton, found it easy to float. I believe I told you that if assailed by the Opposition upon the bygone recruitment business, he would triumph. The majority was enormous.

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 4, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

In the House of Commons last evening, and in answer to a question put by Mr. Baillie, Lord Palmerston is reported by the newspapers of this morning to have said that—

"Mr. Dallas had received full powers to discuss the Central American question with government." (*Advertiser*.)

"Mr. Dallas had full powers to discuss with her Majesty's government all the questions which have arisen with respect to the affairs of Central America, and that he has powers which Mr. Buchanan had not; as I understood from Mr. Buchanan that he had no instructions upon these questions." (*Post*.)

"The government understood that Mr. Dallas had full powers to discuss with them the questions connected with the affairs of Central America, and therefore he had powers which Mr. Buchanan had not." (*Times*.)

It is difficult to see precisely what is meant by the language imputed to Lord Palmerston. The shades of difference between Mr. Buchanan's powers and mine, if any exist, are slight. I have laid before the British government, on the 11th June, your despatch of the 24th of May, the last paragraph of which contains all the powers you have given me on the special subject of Central America, independent of my letter of credence. Certainly these powers are, as Lord Palmerston describes them, *full powers to discuss*, but how, as such, they differ from those of Mr. Buchanan, I cannot perceive, except it be as to the details and conditions of arbitration, and even as to those I don't know that, had the proposal of arbitration been regularly made and entertained, Mr. Buchanan's *powers to discuss* would not have been precisely as broad as my own. Perhaps it is on this hinge that Lord Palmerston's distinction turns. The matter will, of course, engage Lord Clarendon and myself at our next meeting; for I cannot, with the frankness I am resolved to pursue, permit any misconception to continue as to the existing extent of my powers.

Suspicion seems, more or less, inseparable from the diplomatic "rôle;" and it has struck me that possibly the heavy ministerial majority of the 2nd instant has encouraged them to take a bolder stand; to recall their readiness to reopen the Central American discussion; and to put *that* on the ground that they

understood my powers to be more full than Mr. Buchanan's, and find they are pretty much the same. Such a course would undoubtedly be utterly inconsistent with past professions and explanations, and though I have suspected it as a possibility, I do not believe it will occur.

Our quondam minister from Nicaragua arrived here last Sunday. I am told that he is loud in animadversions upon the conduct of our government, and that he proposes to demand an audience of Lord Clarendon. He will probably try his hand at mischief; and as there is certainly no particularly favourable sentiment felt here at this moment for the actual state of things in Nicaragua, he may, to some extent, succeed.

Always very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 8, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your despatches from 16 to 20, both inclusive, were received in one batch this morning, and will be formally acknowledged hereafter. I have not now time to do more than will suffice to keep you, by means of a hasty note, up to the times.

The discussions on Central America continue, and in an unchanged humour to try our best to effect an arrangement. I think I see land.

. My powers were frankly considered. They rest exclusively upon the concluding paragraph of your No. 13. Unless, however, they are greatly enlarged, and instructions made full, I foresee much delay and embarrassment.

Complaints are coming in upon me on the score of the inconveniences which spring out of a want of international regulation about seamen who desert from merchant vessels. I find that the active and repeated efforts of Mr. Buchanan during last year, to get a consular convention, embracing this matter, failed, though aided by Lord Clarendon. It may be that the recent incidents have opened their eyes to the absolute necessity of some provisions on the subject. If I propose to you to send me authority to act, it will only be after having ascertained that the prospect of doing something is better now than it was last year.

Parliament is restive under the heat. They are pushing on to an early prorogation. If nothing starts up, I think they will adjourn by the 20th instant.

I got also to-day your "unofficial" of the 16th June. I have not had a richer treat for a long time. It is the first symptom you have thrown out, in our correspondence, of a relaxation in that costiveness which I once charged upon you. By-the-by, solve me this diplomatic etiquette of epithets! Some of your letters are marked "*private*," that I understand perfectly; some "*strictly private*"—what's the differ-

ence? Again, some are headed "*unofficial*;" does that imply more than merely personal or private? Some "*confidential*," that means—(does it not?)—"on public official business, but not for public use." Others are doubtless shades of difference; but it may be well to say what my own understanding is, as between myself individually and my records representatively. If you mark "*private*," the word "*strictly*" is supererogatory, and your missive goes quietly into my pocket; so also as to "*unofficial*," except that its contents are not esteemed to be under the injunction of secrecy; but if you merely say "*confidential*," then it goes into the archives as a secret paper of the legation.

I want to be agreeable at the close of a dull epistle, and must therefore tell you that everybody here, without an exception, regards your despatches Nos. 13 and 14 as first-rate specimens of diplomatic ability and skill. General Scott and Lord Clarendon are in the same category of vanquished. My cordial respects all round.

Always truly yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 11, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

You must not be appalled by the length of to-day's despatch. I promise not to repeat it often, especially at a season when you are probably (not-

withstanding the comfortable coal fire before which I am writing) perspiring under a sun of 100° Fahrenheit, at Washington.

Everything here is tranquil. Even the teapot tempest of the *Black-tie* and *Gamboge* vest has subsided to the common level. Parliament is packing up, and will soon be *noncomeatibus in swampo*, that is if pheasants and grouse are tenants of marshes. Nothing remains to keep one awake but the drowsy hum of the Italian question; and even that Lord John Russell proposes to put at rest. In a little while all London will have fallen asleep in the green lap of rural retirement, and nobody, no! nobody, be left to keep watch and ward for international safety and peace but Lord Clarendon and me. Genii of Central America, hover over and protect us! for we mean well.

We have just had the Guards, returned from the Crimea, some four thousand lads of 19, in bright red coats and huge fur caps, pass through the highways and file in procession before the Queen. One could not help thinking, as they moved onward, "hardly heavy enough for effective fight!"

No talk yet, not a whisper, as to sending a successor to Crampton. Many I know would like the place, notwithstanding their awe of the American Secretary. There's Lord Howden—*no me gusto!* Lord Elgin—capital! The Duke of Newcastle and his fine daughter—excellent! Sir Edward B. Lytton

—agreed! Mr. Charles Pelham Villiers, Lord Clarendon's brother—admirable! Sir William G. Ouseley, with his American antecedents *et uxor*—quite acceptable! Give them time to recover from the galvanic shock of the Cramptonian smasher, and when they once resolve to let by-gones be by-gones, I shall be mistaken if your diplomatic corps will not be adorned and strengthened by an Englishman of higher rank, greater ability, better temper, and more winning manners, than any our terrible but resistless democracy has yet welcomed.

The steady stream of American travellers through this city and onward to every point of the Continent, and then winding backwards, is a sort of moral Mississippi or Amazon. There is really a miraculous character about it. One would imagine that our migratory people, having reached their Ultima Thule on the golden coast of the Pacific, were resolved to turn their faces once more to the rising sun, and trample over Europe to Tartary and Japan. Only think for a moment of the rushing rapids that pour into the American Legation, on the arrival of every steamer, for Passports! Passports! Where to? Everywhere.

The ministerial whitebait dinner is fixed for the 19th inst., and therefore prorogation may be looked for by the 25th. Lord John's motion on Italian affairs is for Monday next, the 14th.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. JOHN EVANS.

London, July 14, 1856.

SIR,

Your letter of the 12th instant has been received. Without knowing you, I cannot assume the responsibility of advising you on your project of emigrating to the United States. It might be that although you possess the means, and the personal qualities, which would give promise of success in a new and rising country, yet your fixed tastes and habits would make you miserable there. Your safest course is to cross the Atlantic during this summer, pass by the cities, and speed directly to St. Louis, in Missouri, or Chicago, in Illinois; stay ten days or more, look about, and consult the men of business whom you will find as plentiful as blackberries, see what pursuit would suit you best, how you can most safely and profitably invest your £3000 (which is an ample fund to start with out there), and then determine for yourself whether to remain or return. At your age, with your health, after twenty years of active life in Liverpool, and with the money at your command, if you scrupulously keep off the snags and sawyers of politics for five years, I should deem it quite an exception to the ordinary and natural current of things, if you were not rich, influential, and respected by the time you are fifty.

Respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 15, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have no reason for writing except the desire for letting you have something, however unimportant, by every good opportunity.

Murray, the publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, sent me the June number yesterday. It contains an animated article on Central America, which vindicates the Mosquito Protectorate, and then surrenders it to some arrangement like what I sent you, but moving the Indians off in a body to Canada; it vindicates the English title to Ruatan, rather as a West India Island than a dependency of the Belize, and then surrenders it to Honduras; and it is willing to stop the Belize settlement at the Sarstoon, provided that be a final adjustment. You will see by this article, though it is crowded with haughty pretension and dogmatic assertion, that public opinion here is fast coming to the point of amicable arrangement at any sacrifice. The writer, at the close, mounts the jaded steed of the Recruitment question, and caracols for Crampton at a furious rate.

Some of the newspapers are anxious about Parliament adjourning before the definitive settlement of the differences with us. They don't like leaving unchecked in the hands of Lord Palmerston the power to make war, and they ask why so much

naval force has been sent to the West Indies. We have got the ministerial assurances, both public and private, on this last point, and we can get nothing more. As to hurrying a convention with Lord Clarendon, that is impossible; for I have as yet no power to propose or reject anything. Without guide except as I am able to distil your views from despatches to Mr. Buchanan, I can only listen and suggest. Our friends in Parliament take it for granted that I am armed at all points, and seem every day to inquire how the matter gets on, under the delusive expectation that I will hint the signature of a complete arrangement! Lord Clarendon and I must, I suppose, while away full another month before we can go seriously to work; nor do I think there is any harm in our doing so; on the contrary, it gives me time to see how Mr. Herran gets on with the Bay Islands, for their devolution is a *sine qua non*, and time also to receive any instruction you may think proper to send about Mr. Alvarado. It is not improbable that they may persuade themselves to believe that Col. Fremont will be elected in November next; and if they adopt that notion, they would like to take the chance of the new administration's adopting their interpretation of the treaty.

I attended the House of Commons last evening to hear the debate on the Italian question. Lord John Russell introduced it reasonably well. Lord Pal-

merston talked much, but left the matter without a ray of light. Disraeli went the whole figure of conservatism, and dread of revolution. On the whole, the discussion was flat, unmeaning, and unproductive. There is a singular stagnation in the political atmosphere of Europe at the very moment when ours is all in motion.

I hear, now and then, from our friend at Madrid, Augustus C. Dodge. He last wrote me for a hint as to what course it would be best for Commodore Breese, who was at Cadiz, to take. I could only answer that I could perceive now no cause for alarm or misgiving.

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. WILLIAM BROWN.

24 Portland Place, July 16, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The rumour which you tell me prevailed in the House of Commons last evening, that "all our differences are settled," is, I hope, connected with that description of events which are said to cast their shadows before. It is, however, no better founded now than it might have been three weeks ago.

We are all deeply sensible of the kindness of yourself and Mrs. Brown in proposing to us a visit to Richmond Hill, and have many thanks to give. Until, however, I am able to see land on the business,

so important and interesting to our two countries, which brought me here, I do not think I shall find an excuse to my anxiety, for leaving London a single day.

I hope to see you before you go.

Always truly yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 18, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The accounts from Spain are full of excitement. They are given in the newspapers in homoeopathic doses. Whether this be precautionary design, or the natural shape of telegraphic news, is not easily determinable. It is said that the insurrection in Madrid has been completely suppressed, *dubitatur*. At any rate, it is buoyant in Saragossa and in Barcelona. There is a drawback in this movement; for I am told that they who have proclaimed a republic have also pledged themselves, if successful, to emancipate the slaves in Cuba.

The gentlemen who represent Honduras here are not as discreet as perhaps they should be. They go into the newspapers and explain their objects. Lord Clarendon will be apt, I should fear, to take offence at this exchange of the Foreign Office for the Press. I have intimated my opinion both to Mr. Squier and Mr. Herran. It is an imprudent invocation of hostile views.

It is whispered that Louis Napoleon has retreated into the country, owing to his suffering from the attacks of some severe and serious disease.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 22, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Notwithstanding your letter to him of the 28th May, 1856, assuring him that the prosecution against him should be discontinued, and that orders to that effect had been issued to the United States Attorney at Cincinnati, Mr. Rowcroft writes to Lord Clarendon within a week past that he cannot quit Cincinnati, as he is still under recognizance to answer, and that the District Attorney says he has repeatedly written to Washington upon the subject, but can get no reply. Pray inquire about this, and have what is right done, letting me know where the mistake lies.

I have just got back from the Foreign Office in time to write this, but without anything sufficiently important for a despatch. His lordship had not had leisure to finish his sketch of a plan for ending the protectorate; it was begun, however, and he promised to send it in the course of the week. He complains of being dreadfully fagged by the expiring

throes of the present session of Parliament. He can't get to bed before five in the morning.

Spain, you see, is in a ferment. Italy will next spring upwards. Louis Napoleon thinks the opportunity come to play his great uncle's game with Ferdinand, and to find a throne for the Prince whose nose the Empress has so unkindly disjointed. He has offered to assist Queen Isabella, which means to devour the kingdom, and extinguish the hazard of a republicanism too near at hand. Nothing yet heard of Espartero.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will perceive by the newspapers that, two days ago, a question was addressed to Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Milner Gibson, as to whether her Majesty's government had determined to send a minister to Washington. Mr. Gibson is a friend, and a watchful one to boot. The reply of the Premier was to the effect that the cabinet had come to no decision, and that it was by no means unusual that delays should take place in appointing diplomatic representatives. There was neither word nor look to intimate an indisposition to fill the mission; in fact, the answer

produced the impression that no decision had been come to, because it was difficult to select the person, rather than from any other motive.

Be that as it may, I have ascertained, from a source entirely unquestionable, that there are gentlemen in Washington, "distinguished for ability and position," who amuse themselves by writing letters to their friends here, intended for exhibition to the ministry, and inculcating in the interest of the American Party, that the manner in which Mr. Crampton's dismissal was treated by this government has worked advantageously for the democracy, and they strive hard to have something done which may rekindle the panic as to the danger of war among our mercantile classes. I asked for no names, because I was frankly told in advance that they could not be given. But I characterised the letter-writers, in strong terms, as mischievous partisan intermeddlers, who for the sake of carrying their Presidential candidate, were willing to hazard the peace and interests of their country. I do not feel entirely at liberty to go into details. They would surprise you. But you are entitled to know, and I violate no principle of delicacy in letting you know, the incontestable fact I have stated. If a minister to Washington be withheld, though I do not think one will be withheld beyond a reasonable time, it will be owing, in my opinion, to the effect produced by these secret and treacherous letter-writers. It is amazing, if

not almost incredible, that any "distinguished" American citizen should not revolt from such a proceeding. How far, too, it has a tendency to dissuade from the contemplated adjustment of the Central American differences, or at all events to protract the negotiation, it would be hard to say. I hope those with whom that business must be transacted are too sagacious and honourable to permit themselves to be misled by the wretched zealots of abolitionism, now playing a game of despair in our canvass; and yet England has so long and so obstinately deemed our democratic party her natural and unalterable enemy, that the force of habit may exert its power.

The *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon has got its parallel, no, not quite its parallel, but its servile imitation, in the conduct of O'Donnell at Madrid. The citizens are butchered by wholesale, and the legislature coolly Cromwellized. France may find a pretext for occupying the Spanish capital as she occupies Rome. Wherever a popular commotion occurs she may like to occupy. According to all sound modern doctrine, occupation, whether for one or seven years, is perfectly consistent with non-intervention. There is something singularly accommodating in that word "occupy," is there not? The Premier begins to "*scent the tainted gale*." (See slip.)

The prorogation is put off till the middle of next week. To-night, according to a strange and recently

established practice, Mr. Disraeli will review the session, and elaborately set forth the mismanagement, omissions, and commissions of the ministry, during the five legislative months. He represents, for the occasion, the Opposition; Lord Palmerston will reply. A regular set-to by champions.

As yet we have had sight of summer only in fruits and flowers. Two or three days of warm sun, no more.

Always truly yrs.

TO JUDGE JOEL JONES.

London, July 25, 1856.

MY DEAR JUDGE,

Warm weather is of slow progress here. I have yet had no cause to thin the clothing put on during the extreme cold of January last in Philadelphia. And yet the newspapers represent *you* as frying under 96° of Fahrenheit!

From this distant stand-point, our politics appear excessively angry, confused, and critical. The Americans have taken up Fremont upon the principle and in imitation of our nomination in 1852. Will it run the same wild and victorious career? If Providence still favours the Union, reserving it even in despite of our numerous extravagances and follies, we may succeed. I can see no reliance but in Providence. We have tried our best, or worst, to

exasperate Providence; let us hope still that the real and unaltered excellence of our Constitution may keep her on our side. A great pother is made in these old foggy regions about the series of violences which accompany the fermentation of our great canvass. One governor declares martial law; another administers it, with a kick, in the State capitol; one member of Congress shoots down a table servant; and another selects higher game for his bludgeon in the Senate chamber; civil war has its licensed playground in Kansas; and droves of foreign fighters are rushing to Nicaragua; belligerents throng to hiss and shout at every public gathering; and rows and riots are—everywhere! Such is the picture drawn by an European artist. Its features come to you in detached doses, and are therefore not so striking; crossing the water they cluster into an intolerable bouquet.

I have to thank you for your agreeable letters. They tell me all the political incidents and the social occurrences, of which I should otherwise remain unconscious. I wish this stagnant part of the world furnished me something to send you in return. By-the-by, Spain has just opened the revolutionary movement. O'Donnell, mimicking the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, has drenched Madrid with the blood of its citizens, and dispersed the Cortes. Many think that the train was fired from Plombières, the mysterious summer retreat of the French Emperor.

Certainly, he has promptly shown his sympathies on behalf of unconstitutional government. Lord Palmerston, yesterday, in the House of Commons, had the audacity, while seeming to vindicate, to give him a cool warning. I send you this remarkable intimation to England's great ally. All the Parisian journals will exclaim "Morbieu! Par exemple!"

Parliament has but few days longer to live. The session must have its "*oraison funèbre*." They have a singular practice of permitting the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, just before the session closes, to review the ministerial conduct, and to concentrate in a single philippic all the grounds of accusation and complaint. Mr. Disraeli has given notice that he intends doing that matter to-night.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, July 23, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your private letter of the 13th instant reached me yesterday, and was heartily welcome.

My despatches during this month will have shown you that I have been actively "*feeling the ground in relation to Central American questions*." I cannot say that I have reached bottom yet, although the *Morning Advertiser* of Saturday last formally

announced that all matters were settled. I suspect the editor of that paper was anxious to pour out an *amende honorable* by extravagant eulogy of myself, and found no excuse for doing so except by inventing a consummation which he knew would attract attention and be universally acceptable. It is possible that he may know more of British Cabinet secrets than I do; and that a suggestion I once made to Lord Clarendon, as to the manner in which the Gordian knot of our difficulties might be cut, has been adopted, to wit,—that the Queen should take the responsibility and initiative in restoring the Bay Islands to Honduras. I threw the notion out, certainly not dreaming that it would stick; but the *Advertiser* predicts it positively. We shall know at the prorogation to-day.

Lord Clarendon has sent me, two or three days ago, my *pro forma* scheme of getting out of the Protectorate, modified and changed according to his views. I would send you this paper, but he accompanied it with a note, requesting me to consider it *private*, as he had not even been yet able to show it to his colleagues. It contains some things, too, the real bearing of which I apprehend he has not sufficiently weighed, and which I hope and believe he will readily forego. Your despatch, No. 13, had he remembered its contents, would certainly satisfy him that I could do nothing in the nature of recognizing the Mosquitoes as an independent sovereignty or nation;

and that I had it as little within my competency to overlook the ultimate eminent domain of Nicaragua, or to complicate the foreign policy of the United States in a joint protectorate. These are matters as to which, to be sure, I will carefully fulfil any instructions you may transmit; but, without instructions, they do not meet my judgment or approval. I am preparing a reformed sketch; adopting what I can, retaining what he has adopted of my former view, and showing what I conceive, as at present advised, to be impossible. My opinion is that we shall ultimately adjust a plan by which the British obligation of honour may in no respect be violated in the abandonment of the protectorate; unless, indeed, your promised instructions, which I anxiously look for, open a new field of discussion, and give my labours a different direction.

So much has been said in periodicals, in weekly and daily newspapers, evincing the acceptableness of the proposed restitution of Ruatan to Honduras, that I can scarcely doubt, after the conversations that I and Mr. Herran have separately had with Lord Clarendon, that it is a point which will be conceded to the spirit of peace. I would therefore suggest whether, if that be done, especially if done handsomely, it would be becoming in us to take our position *inter apices juris* about the Guatemalian title to the land between the Siburn and Sarstoon? The truth is, that if trade across the Isthmus once

become fearless, active, and free, the Belize will fast sink into insignificance, and be abandoned. Commerce will pass it by contemptuously, and even *Hanseaticated* San Juan will flap her wings and crow over it.

You will see by the note I enclose from Lord Clarendon, that he has got a late letter from Mr. Rowcroft, which entitles you to dismiss that gentleman's anxiety for a *nol. pros.* from your mind.

I have no misgivings about the Presidential canvass. We must succeed. The adversary has kindly submitted to as much division as was necessary to secure their weakness. It is quite plain, too, that, like frightened birds, they have lit on a twig too fragile to support them. Fremont is respectable enough *per se*, but he cannot carry the weight of a party. Besides, all who reflect must perceive that our failure would rock the Union to its deepest foundations, if not snap it in two. I dare say, that, like all other free peoples that have ever existed, ours is destined to be mad some day; but the hour has not arrived.

Mr. Herran has this instant come and gone. In his interview at the Foreign Office on Saturday last, Lord Clarendon said he would draft a treaty restoring the islands, and only bargaining that Port Royal should be a free port, except a small duty adequate to pay the police officers of Honduras. Mr. Herran is not the ablest of men, and may not be perfectly

accurate; but of the main point, the restitution, he is quite certain.

The prorogation just over. The speech adverts to our negotiations on Central America, and the Queen wishes them a happy conclusion. That's all; but it is something.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, August 8, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have not been successful recently in efforts to continue and ripen the discussion with Lord Clarendon. Three several days have been fixed for conference during the last week, but each has had to give way to some peremptory call elsewhere of his lordship. The Queen last commanded him to Osborne, and, unless her Majesty release him for to-day, he will fail in his engagement to meet me at the Foreign Office at three o'clock. Mr. Herran has been subject to the same delays; and when he came to see me yesterday, he appeared worried at not having received the draft of his convention, promised for a week ago. Interruption and procrastination are, we all know, unavoidable incidents of high official station. They must be borne with due patience by those who have public objects in view. As to myself, I cannot undertake to be in a hurry,

until, 1, Mr. Herran secures the Bay Islands, and, 2, I am enabled to do something more than discuss, or theorize, or plan.

It is quite obvious that no single member of the ministry assumes to act, on a matter of moment, without consulting his colleagues. This is necessarily productive of endless postponement. Most of the cabinet have left London since the prorogation of Parliament, and are wandering in the Provinces. They can confer along the telegraphic wires, not otherwise. I believe I told you that Lord Clarendon had requested me to treat as *private* his sketch of a scheme to abate the protectorate, because he had not had an opportunity to show it to his colleagues. That is an example.

The diplomatic corps is even more scattered than the cabinet. The French, Austrian, Prussian, Spanish, Turkish, Sardinian, and Hanoverian ministers are all on the Continent; indeed, I doubt whether there be a single "chef" except myself in London. It is often impossible to get a passport *visé* at any office but mine. Holidays here are literally holidays all round.

"Order reigns in Spain;" but the stability of O'Donnell is by no means assured. He must either carry out his movement to its legitimate results, and let Christina return in triumph, or he must fall back upon the constitutional party and reinstate the Espartero influence. When the Pope, Christina,

Isabella, and, *sub rosa*, Louis Napoleon, are making "a pull all together," at one end of the rope, O'Donnell can scarcely keep a steady footing at the other, alone. He will probably yield to the absolutists, and then they will soon get rid of him, or he will resist, and on the liberal side inaugurate another revolutionary struggle, when the French will intervene decisively. The "prestige" of this country, I consider gone, *fuit*, and no party on the Continent thinks her willing and competent to stand by and protect the cause of liberal government. She is essentially and practically chained to the footstool of a usurper more dangerous to the liberties of mankind, because more cunning to employ the vocabulary and arts of freedom, than would be a dozen Russian Czars. Steam, too, has brought her into such close proximity with her neighbour, that she dare not oppose him without being, what she knows she never is, ready to repel a sudden invasion. She does not venture to remonstrate against Pélissier's new title of Duke of Malakoff, but is obliged to witness in silence this unmistakable and indelible claim to the monopoly of the crowning honour of the Crimean war. Lord Palmerston, in the heat of debate, uses loud words now and then, but his followers stare in terrified astonishment, and he sinks silently back again into unavoidable submission. *Fuit! Fuit!*

I have just returned from the Foreign Office, and after two hours' conference with Lord Clarendon,

have only time to say that everything connected with the negotiation wears the most promising and satisfactory aspect. He told me, upon being asked how it stood with Mr. Herran, that he thought that matter of the Bay Islands quite settled; that he would send for Mr. Herran this afternoon; that he would draft the convention of restitution without delay; and, indeed, that there was nothing left to be done, except to agree upon some mode of indemnifying the English residents. I inquired whether he had kept steadily in view to avoid any stipulation for peculiar privileges. He replied that he had.

We have, as to the protectorate, one only remaining *snag* to get over, or to get round, and that is the condition of Nicaragua; and we are both to set our wits to work to remove it if possible.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO COL. PAGE.

London, August 12, 1856.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

You must deal with me in mercy. I have been working hard and unceasingly, so that private correspondence became an almost prohibited indulgence. Mr. Marcy is a tyrannical monopolist, and exacts all my written ideas. In a little, I shall have finished my job, and may then take an airing among the friends who have kept me in mind.

All this part of the world is anticipating, hoping, and wishing the defeat of our democracy in November. It must not be. Col. Page, I say, it must not be! It is difficult to tell you how much of human liberty, right, and happiness is at stake; enough to make selfish and personal prejudices, were they a hundredfold multiplied, fly up and kick the beam. Alas! how much disinterested virtue the maintenance of a republic demands! but it is virtue, and is its own glorious reward.

* * * * writes me in a rather desponding tone. He should bustle more, and work off the megrims. A fling into a free fight is sure to stiffen the nerves and banish the blues. If he shirks fighting for himself, let him fight for what I think in greater peril, the Union. I say this to every one of the true men to whom I feel at liberty to address an honest exhortation. To myself individually it matters little whether the Union be saved or subverted; my own chapter of politics closed with the dead silence at the Cincinnati Convention; but it is natural to look somewhat after the happiness of one's children, and of the friends of well-organized liberty throughout the world. I pray and beseech all who care a fig about my opinion, to struggle for the preservation of the Union against the "dissolving views" of Eastern and Anglican abolitionists, until their tongues can no longer wag.

All, ay all, that I came here to do will be success-

fully accomplished, if indeed it has not been already achieved, in the course of a week. The two countries, five months ago, were at that critical stand of mutual and morbid defiance when a prolonged war might have sprung from a few more hot words, or the hasty discharge of a gun at sea. People watched with suspended breath the news of every hour. Americans, all over the continent of Europe, and in particular, Commodore Brees, commanding our Mediterranean squadron, awaited a signal from this office to hurry home. Well! it all changed in the lapse of a month or six weeks; and the change has advanced, step by step, until now, before the entire expiration of five months, they who understand the condition and tone of international relations, are satisfied that a sounder basis for mutual harmony and respect has not existed since the Treaty of 1783. I cannot tell you how this has been brought about. There is the fact. I am, and always have been, just as ready to fight England as any man living, upon any adequate and honourable ground. Still, to have been accessory to the conversion of a ticklish state of reciprocal rage, springing from a mere bandying of diplomatic sentences, into calm and solid good-will, is destined to close my political life with entire satisfaction to myself. Wait a fortnight, perhaps a month, and you may then hear the finality.

I want you to do me the favour to call upon Judge

Sergeant, and give him the warm assurance of my continued attachment. He has never recognized my appointment to this Court, and perhaps it was contrary to his sense of prudence. Write me often and "lengthily" as you can.

Always sincerely yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, August 22, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will perceive by what I send, as well as by the newspapers generally, that your letter to Count Sartiges, on the Declaration of the Peace Congress at Paris abolishing privateering, was not in London forty-eight hours before it appeared with an effective editorial in the *Morning Advertiser*. The *Times* reprinted it the following day; and it is going the rounds, attracting great attention, but no attempt at reply. Let us hope that European statesmen will not be so absurd as to attempt a concerted and combined movement to coerce our adoption of their absolute phrase "*Privateering is abolished!*" But there is no knowing how far their folly may carry them. In this piece of cunning, as in the case of African Slavery, they shelter their purpose behind a screen.

I had hoped to send you by this steamer the Central American Treaty. It is, however, not ready

for transmission, though very little more is wanted to complete the job. It is thrown into form, and makes a longer document than it ought to be. Much space, however, is given to the details of appointing, qualifying, and instructing Commissioners for settling boundary, and adjudicating upon Land Grants.

Mr. Herran has not yet pocketed his convention about the Colony of the Bay Islands. No doubt he will have it in a day or two. The new Free State or Municipality may be some time in assuming the proper shape, and in getting fully under way; but it will rapidly assume importance after that, especially if, as will be quite natural, our enterprising traders squat on Rutan; and it will be recognized as under the sovereignty (to be sure, the empty sovereignty) of Honduras. There is a buzz circulating to the effect that the immense value and importance of these islands have only just been found out, and that it is well for us that the contract has been made! I believe the rumour to be unfounded; but, in twenty years, if all things go on steadily, they can scarcely fail to rise into an interesting relation with the commercial and political world.

Your private letter of the 4th instant reached me on the 18th accompanied by six copies of the Sartiges communication, all exceedingly welcome. I regret extremely to hear of your daughter's illness. Mr. M. has repeatedly mentioned it as very severe: but I sincerely hope she has recovered. .

You will have noticed that an outbreak in Naples is daily looked for. The proud and retaliatory manner in which the king has met the intervention and menaces of England and France rather raises him in one's estimation, in spite of his flagitious despotism; but it will advance the movement of reform by stinging the reformers. The critical state of affairs in Italy is, perhaps, at the bottom of this ministry's unusual conciliation towards America.

Spain, like a diseased horse, after kicking out famously has sunk again into forlorn resignation.

The eyes of all the world of courtiers are just now fixed upon the Coronation at the Kremlin.

Very truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. GILPIN.

London, August 19, 1856.

MY DEAR GILPIN,

Your letter of the 21st July reached me yesterday.

I left your introductions, with my cards, at Mr. G.'s and Sir C. F.'s. They are distinguished parts of the world, and, at present, all the world is out of town. In a very little while, even Lord Clarendon and I will feel at liberty to take a short trip beyond the range of Foreign Office servitude. I hope to send Mr. Marcy his quietus, that is a thorough settlement, by the same vessel that carries this. If

I do, all that I expected or undertook will be accomplished. I am afraid the men who wanted a fight will not readily forgive me. War, a few months ago, was the favourite word; it is now never uttered, and with it have gone off the Bay Islands and the Protectorate, both beyond the sovereignty of her Majesty. *N'importe!* when it is a man's duty to make peace, he must close his heart to belligerent popularity. Besides, as I have told Col. Page, the chapter of my political life closed with the dead silence at the Cincinnati Convention, and I am content to end with the reputation of having kept two bull-dogs from tearing each other to pieces.

I shall, one of these "calm summer mornings," indulge you with an exposition of the outside and the inside treaties, the principles, motives, and difficulties; but just now, time is too important to me.

Our best remembrances to Mrs. Gilpin and to Mr. Van Buren, and to Mrs. Livingston. We are all well, and enjoying a small coal fire while you are melting under 100°! Vide Rochefoucauld as to the miseries of one's friends.

Ever faithfully yrs.

August 22, 1856.

I have had a little time to think on your question as to the cause of the present amicable tone towards us. It is impossible to answer it upon any but con-

jectural grounds. There may be serious anticipations as to the condition of Italy, and misgivings suggested by the extreme courtship between France and Russia, but they are insufficiently developed just yet. Judging from obvious indications, I am inclined to the belief that Lord Palmerston, at the moment of pressure upon him two months ago, bought the parliamentary representatives of the industrial classes to support his ministry, by pledging himself to change his whole course of action as regards America. The instant he performed his part of the contract by retaining me here, his majority became assured and overwhelming. This has proved to him on what a rock he plants his ascendancy when he conciliates us; and from that day, it has seemed to be impossible to be too civil. There are, no doubt, other co-operative causes, causes which made it easy for him to bend to the policy of the position. I could advert to some that are singular enough, but the basis of the whole is, I am almost certain, what I have stated.

My treaty don't go by this occasion. Its formalities are delayed by official absenteeism.

Always yrs.

TO LORD DONOUGHMORE.

London, August 25, 1856.

MY LORD,

I have your lordship's letter of the 23rd instant.

The distribution of intestate estates, in the United States, is a subject of State or local, not of national jurisdiction. The government of the Union has nothing to do with it. They have no right or power whatever to decide to whom the real or personal assets of a deceased shall go: they must go where the law of the particular State in which the deceased resided or in which the property is found at his death, directs that they shall go. Every State has its own law of Escheat, and on the demise of a bastard without children, wife, or will, his property would legally belong to the State, by whose functionaries, after inquest and verdict, it would be taken for public use.

Mr. Marcy's inquiry had for its object, I have no doubt, the payment to whomsoever might present himself authentically as "the personal representative" of Joseph Mansford, otherwise called Joseph Carson, and therefore entitled to receive it, of a balance of wages due to the deceased as a seaman in the American service; or it may be that the consul of the United States, at Shanghai, Robert C. Murphy, Esq., has taken charge of the effects and money left by Joseph Carson, and has requested Mr. Marcy to ascertain who are "the personal representatives" to whom these effects and money may be transmitted. This latter supposition is the more probable.

What then should Peter Carson do? He has *legally* as much right to claim the effects and money

of the bastard as his father has, and that is no right at all. But he can acquire a right by becoming "the personal representative" of the deceased, in other words, by having himself appointed the *administrator* to his estate. If by having reared and educated Joseph, or in any other way, he can claim to be a *creditor* of the estate, he is entitled to be preferred as administrator to John Carson. If nothing gives him a preference, he can still claim the administration, provided John Carson has not got ahead of him and already taken out the letters. Mr. Marcy or the consul at Shanghai would probably pay the money or give the effects to any one who proved his character as "personal representative" by presenting a certificate under official seal and signature of his appointment.

And *where* and *how* is Peter Carson to have himself constituted the administrator to Joseph's estate?

Where?—The proper place is the city or county in the United States in which Joseph last resided before he entered upon his last voyage.

How?—Application must be made to the Register of Wills, or other proper local officer, the facts stated, the necessary surety given, etc.

If Peter Carson cannot quit home to attend to this matter in person, he can authorize some one else as his attorney in fact to have the thing done; to get the certificate of his appointment as ad-

ministrator; to forward that certificate or a duplicate of it to Mr. Marcy, either for his own action or for transmission to Mr. Murphy at Shanghai; to receive the effects or money; and, after paying all expenses and settling all accounts in exoneration of his surety, to remit the residue of the fund to Mr. Peter Carson.

I believe I have communicated all the information your lordship desires to possess. Let me, however, add what my experience in similar cases has taught me to believe, that in all likelihood Joseph has not left behind him more than a few months' wages and a sea-chest of old clothes, the aggregate value of which would not compensate Mr. Peter Carson for one-tenth of the trouble and expense which he would necessarily incur in their pursuit.

I shall be happy at all times to hear, upon this or any other subject, from your lordship.

Very respectfully, your lordship's

Most obedient servant.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, August 26, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The engrossment of the Central American Treaty is going on, and I have no doubt that I shall be able to send it to you by the Arabia on Saturday next, the 30th instant.

I had my last discussion on this topic at the

Foreign Office yesterday. An attentive examination of the phraseology of the treaty and separate article will show you that I have kept constantly in mind the principles of your instructions, and where their open recognition does not appear substantively, words are used which create for them a necessary implication.

Lord Clarendon is bound to escort the Queen on her journey to Scotland. Her Majesty leaves here the day after to-morrow. She became very sick on her last aquatic excursion, and now forswears the sea. He has positively promised to summon me to sign our concocted instrument in the course of to-morrow.

I have just had a long, agreeable, and interesting visit from Count Kreptovitch, the new Russian Minister to this Court. I knew him at St. Petersburg in the time of my mission there. He is the son-in-law of Nesselrode, whom he described as in full health and vigour of intellect. He intimated that he had met with a rather cold reception here, owing, he presumed, to his dilatoriness in coming. He told me that the impression on the Continent is that the Emperor of France labours under some serious disease which he does not possess the constitutional strength to throw off;—"And then," he exclaimed, "what, in the name of Heaven, is to become of France!" He expressed in very strong terms his admiration of your letter to Sartiges on privateering; said that as the argument of a statesman, it was conclusive; and that

his opinion was entirely with you. During the last three years, Count Kreptovitch has been minister at Brussels, a place that he regrets leaving.

I intend introducing to you Sir Henry Holland, who goes out by the Arabia. He is, in every respect, a most estimable as well as eminent person, and withal a court and nobility physician. He will hardly stop a day at Washington, if he get there at all. He returns to London in six or eight weeks. I wish him very much to see the President, yourself, and General Davis. .

London is the depth of dulness and emptiness.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, September 2, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 22nd August by the Canada reached me on Sunday the 7th instant, and we are all much gratified at your telling us of the improved condition of your daughter.

I notice in our newspapers a number of things said about the Central American negotiation and about myself personally, which are utterly absurd and without foundation. The invention about that intelligent Albino, Mr. Lowe, is one of these, as you have already found. He is quite too distinguished and

respectable a gentleman to be supposed capable of having connived at his supposititious mission. Then, that nonsense about a letter to me from fifty or more Members of Parliament :—all trash. You are entirely right in taking it for granted that nothing of this sort can be true which is not adverted to in my despatches or letters.

I am much relieved by the Canada's mail from the anxiety about our political extravagance, created by that of the Arago. It would seem almost certain that a congressional arrangement on the Army Bill has been accomplished.

I went to the great Cutlers' Festival at Sheffield on the 4th instant. You will see the account of it in the newspapers. The report of my remarks, though inaccurate in one or two places, is as a whole quite good enough to submit to. Some of the reporters, with Yankee cuteness, interpolate *Cuba* for *Oude*, and introduce the phrase "infinitely more praiseworthy," as applied to Texas and Cuba annexation ! Small artifice ! The speeches of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Roebuck are interesting as matters of political development and degladiation. They have given rise to numerous newspaper columns. Mr. Roebuck I found to be, in Sheffield particularly, in the enjoyment of an immense and boisterous popularity. He is universally praised for ability and independence ; and yet he had accepted a day or two before a present of £1000, raised by subscription,

headed by Lord Palmerston! Sheffield is ultra-American. On the arrival of your minister, the church-bells were rung, and the flag of the United States was floated from the public-hall, and from where I took up my quarters. The first aspect of the town is that of Pittsburg, smoky, dirty, dingy, and noisy. The suburbs are beautiful, hills richly cultivated and adorned with handsome villas. I ran through their principal "works," cutlery, plate, and steel, and found the crowds of workmen just as ardently fond of us as their employers. The distance from London is about one hundred and seventy miles, which I flew over in four hours and a quarter.

There is some activity shown to remove the prevailing impression that the Emperor of the French labours under serious malady. Mr. B., who is a warm personal friend of his Majesty, whom he once went bail for when arrested by the police in this city, adverts to letters from Paris that deny the story. And yet everything indicates that there is something in it. Some shrewd folks hint a softening of the brain! So much depends upon maintaining his *prestige* just now, that, if he be really ill, we shall be kept ignorant of it as long as possible. He dances, it is said, with great animation every night at Biarritz; but for a month or six weeks there has been an impenetrable and mysterious cloud about his statesmanship. "*Mais, nous verrons,*" as your old friend of 1798 used to say. At the reception lately

of a recently formed municipal council, he was "quite odd;" unable to make a rational address, and suddenly in a trembling fit breaking out with "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

Truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, September 19, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is "quite odd" (a fashionable English comment) that one should be living in London, and yet have nothing to send to Washington, more than three thousand five hundred miles off, in the shape of news, political, social, or diplomatic. Such, however, is my momentary status; and it is ascribable as much to the constancy and frequency with which I have written to you, as to the universal nap the world is taking. I'm exhausted, and I suspect your patience is in the like predicament.

The *Post* said a few days ago that if Russia were not faithful to the Treaty of Peace, England must bring her to her senses, and could do so *even though unassisted by another power*. So, so, says the *Constitutionnel*, you begin to doubt France! be it so. Russia is a great and glorious nation, her monarch and nobles worthy of all praise! and as for you, bah! you talk too big! There are occasionally apparent

other symptoms which indicate the possibility of our seeing, one of these days, a revival of the Continental system against "perfidious Albion."

The Coronation at the Kremlin is certainly a very different display from our inauguration at the Capitol. The first appeals to the eyes, the second to the ears; so that if Horace be correct, *signius irritant animos*, the Imperial pageant is more permanently impressive than the Presidential one. I should like to know the effect produced upon our republican representative, Mr. Seymour;—strongly suspected to have been one of intense fatigue. And yet, listen, you great progressive nineteenth century! there are at least one hundred and fifty millions of bewitched bipeds called men, who think of nothing, read of nothing, talk of nothing, gaze on nothing, but the robes, the jewels, the bows, the holy oil, the illuminations, the serfs, and squadrons of the Czar! It gave me great pleasure to hear from our returning consul, Colonel Reilly, that you had spared Mr. Seymour the ruin of witnessing and partaking this orientally gorgeous display by assuming his expenses. Lord Clarendon is still in Scotland. Lord Palmerston flits backwards and forwards every day or two, between Downing Street and St. Leonards on Sea. The rest of the ministry are everywhere, or nowhere.

I have hinted to Mr. Alvarado, minister to the United States from Honduras, that he would act wisely if, now that the matter is over here, he were

to present himself at Washington, for reception by the President.

Nothing yet about a successor to Mr. Crampton, except, perhaps, the speech of Mr. Baxter who, although very nearly an opposition member, singled out as eminently fit, Mr. Villiers, Lord Clarendon's brother. He would undoubtedly do admirably, as I think I have heretofore said.

John Frost and the Chartists! A more wretched exhibition, as they passed the legation on their way to Primrose Hill, it would be difficult to depict. Our mass-meetings, in town or township, are coronation crowds in comparison. When you stir the dregs or sediment of any European community, the show is saddening. Our alma-houses would do better.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, September 24, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is hardly worth while, and yet it is perhaps best, as a matter of extreme precaution, that I should send you the two copies of notes that accompany this, especially as I have scarcely matter wherewith to fill a page.

You see, this business of passports exacts great vigilance and good humour from your representatives. There are touchy men even in frocks, who think they

ought at once to be granted whatever they ask, and who misunderstand everything when kindled by a little scrutiny. Having carelessly neglected to provide or pack up the authentic proofs of character, they are angry with themselves, and snappishly vent themselves on others. The poor fellow in this case will, I hope, smooth down his indignation, and furnish me with some sort of apology for giving him the passport, even against the judgment of the Secretary. If not, and he wants to make a rumpus, why, you have the means of appreciating him.

The absence from London to which I refer was during a visit of a few days to Sir E. B. Lytton, at his residence about twenty-seven miles off. He kept me a day or two longer than I intended, to have me at the agricultural meeting of his county. The newspapers contain, as usual, reports of what was said and done, at least substantially.

[In Mr. Dallas's diary is found the following entry: 1st October, 1856.—"The week before this last was spent by Mrs. D., Susan, Philip, and myself at Knebworth, the charming residence of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the novelist, poet, and statesman, in Hertfordshire. A more interesting piece of antiquity (our bedroom and bedstead had been occupied by Queen Elizabeth when preparing to receive the Spanish Armada) I have not come across:—spacious halls, picture-galleries, ancient armour, old oak staircase, and grotesque monsters numberless. It is

seated within and domineers over some thousand acres of park, woodland, garden, and farm. No wonder this man writes so exquisitely, on the margin of his own lake, in a retired cottage, and with all the appliances of comfort, silence, and sweet air about him! I found him the very soul of hospitality, a republican in his philosophy, a polished gentleman, and yet made by domestic trials peculiar, if not somewhat eccentric. He has a son attached to the British legation at the Hague, already a remarkable writer. He pines over the loss of a beautiful daughter of 15; and his wife, reputed quite impracticably singular, though very talented, won't live near him. He is laboriously intent on high political fame and position, which, as an M.P., he cannot fail to reach. He persuaded me to accompany him to his county agricultural dinner in Hitchin, where they treated me '*en ambassadeur*,' and I briefly addressed five hundred farmers."^{*}

* The *Hertford Mercury*, reporting this banquet, said, *inter alia*:

"Mr. Dallas, on rising, was received with a perfect hurricane of applause. When the cheering had subsided, he addressed the assembly as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,—It is impossible for me to allow the flattering manner in which you have received the toast so kindly introduced by the distinguished gentleman who presides to pass without the expression of my warmest thanks. A stranger to you all, I deeply feel the hospitality of your welcome; though, in truth, my short experience in England has given me more than reason enough to expect it. (Cheers.) For the generous

Your old cabinet colleague and present diplomatic employé, Mr. J. Y. Mason, is here, and dined with me yesterday. I have not seen him since leaving Washington on the 4th of March, 1849. His health seems restored, and his vivacity as quick and agreeable as ever; but he walks awkwardly, and forbears the use of his left arm. We talked politics, home and foreign, until tired out; and, with the exception of his very exalted admiration of certain French personages, we chimed in sentiment pretty harmoniously. We agree in the belief that the

allusion made to the institutions, the progress, and the prospects of my country, let me also return, in my public as well as in my private character, the most cordial acknowledgments. (Cheers.) Youthful among nations, and perhaps, in the estimation of many whom I address, far from faultless, she has, nevertheless, undeniably achieved in the general cause of civilization, in science, in art, in mechanics, in human elevation and improvement, what may well justify encomiums from such enlightened, discriminating, and candid men. (Cheers.) In no sphere of social action are the United States better entitled to your esteem than in the very one with which this banquet is connected. They recognize their agricultural interest (their planters and their farmers) as their predominant interest, the interest that wields the power, originates the wealth, cherishes the manly freedom, and promotes the happiness of their entire people. (Cheers.) You can make no advance on that subject which will not meet with their sympathy and co-operation. In the vast valley of the Mississippi, amid measureless plains of exhaustless fertility, millions of my countrymen accept, as the noblest of human pursuits, the cultivation of their own soil. (Hear, hear.) With them their chief aim and delight is to stock their farms with cattle of the best breeds; and they hail, as more worthy of their gratitude and their applause

success of Fremont is an unimaginable visitation of Providence. He returns to Paris to-morrow, having crossed the Channel only to execute, with the formality required by Virginia law, a deed of Conveyance before the Lord Mayor.

It is rumoured and understood that a small squadron of French and English vessels is about anchoring before Naples. The pretext is to be to protect the persons and property of their respective subjects *as soon as diplomatic relations are suspended*. In reality the purpose is to secure the Emperor Louis Napoleon from the contagion of a violent outbreak in Italy, by being there as overawing mediators between King

than military exploits and political victories, every onward step in practical husbandry. (Cheers.) I wish, gentlemen, I felt competent and at liberty to engage a few moments of your attention in adverting to American movements similar to your own. They are numerous in every separate State of our confederacy. Impelled, as here, by the highest intellect and the truest patriotism, their combined results might be regarded as an offering not wholly unworthy of your acceptance. (Cheers.) But I cannot venture so far; and, although I am really sensible that an interchange of agricultural reports would constitute a powerful bond of national amity and peace, still I shrink, under the warning of one of your own venerable proverbs, to which my Lord Hamlet might apply his epithet of 'somewhat musty,' inculcating the folly or futility of carrying coals to Newcastle. (Laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, I renew and repeat the expression of my thanks, and will now give you the only good thing which belongs to my address, in the shape of a sentiment: 'All honour and success to the Agricultural Society of Hertfordshire.' (*Loud Cheers.*)"

Bomba and his people. The principle of non-intervention will be actually violated, but ostensibly avoided.

I suppose our cabinet is about as much dispersed as is the cabinet here, and that I may not hear the fruits of consultation as early as I should like; but I still flatter myself with hope of something by the Persia, due to-morrow. The condition of affairs in Kansas is, at this distance, and by the *Times*, monstrously exaggerated, and I wait for accurate news impatiently.

Always most respectfully and truly.

TO MR. MIDDLETON.

24 Portland Place, September 27, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your note of the 19th instant would have had an immediate answer but that it reached me in the country, whence I have only just returned.

Of course, and I might have supposed without a moment's hesitation, you can refer any one to me upon the subject of your proposed publication. It will give me pleasure, as far as it may be in my power, to inspire those who do not know you, with the confidence of those who do.

I happened at the receipt of your letter to be among gentlemen whose works made me sure of their being experienced in regard to London pub-

lishers : and, without adverting to my purpose at all, I took occasion to inquire as to the best direction. They were unanimous in the opinion that a volume of about the size of yours, and on a speculative topic, would run the risk of falling still-born from the press, if put into the hands of a *City* publisher.

I am no judge of the soundness of this opinion, but think it best to mention it. Mr. Murray, in Albemarle Street, was greatly preferred. In the present preposterously confident anticipation in England, that the knell of our Union has rung in Kansas, you may possibly find it difficult to get any one to give to your *subject* the zealous introduction it deserves. It really seems to me that the political structure and social temperament of our country are less understood by those who indefatigably claim to be our kindred than by any other people.

I am truly and respectfully yrs.

TO LORD ELLESMERE.

24 Portland Place, September 28, 1856.

MY DEAR LORD ELLESMERE,

Many thanks for your indulgence towards my venturing on an effort to obtain admission at Bridgewater House for a specially recommended countryman of mine. I knew of your absence, but felt perfectly assured that his was a case which would greatly extenuate the liberty I took. He is an

artist of uncommon merit. Some of his paintings, in their characteristics resembling those of the Russian Orloffsky, are exceedingly fine; and he gives every promise of reaching an excellence equal if not superior to that of his fellow-townsmen, Leslie; for both are from my home, Philadelphia. His name is Rothermel, and he is travelling for the first time in eager pursuit of the masterpieces of his art. As he returns from Italy and Germany, for he cannot afford a long suspension of labour, I will make another attempt at your Gallery, under the encouragement your kind note has given.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, October 3, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Roman Catholic clergyman, Mr. F., of whose angry missive about his passport I inflicted upon you a copy, cooled upon getting my letter, and very frankly came to beg pardon for his folly, and to make himself very agreeable by his vivacity and intelligence. I was not sorry to hear him say that the Foreign Office, which never recognises our naturalization of her Majesty's subjects, gave him a passport immediately as a native Irishman: for it was still impossible for him to adduce a scintilla to warrant my granting one.

You have narrowly escaped a formal despatch by this occasion; but you shall have it soon, I promise you. Lord Clarendon has written me a note respecting a Mr. Smith, our consul recently appointed to Londonderry, whose wild advertisement for "80,000 labourers" and for the sale of "millions of acres" in Iowa, seems to have "riled" the political economy of Downing Street. I have invoked explanation and defence from our splashing representative, and hope to tranquillize the "labour market" of her Majesty before any fresh dido is kicked up. You shall enjoy the entire muss, solemnly set out, on a future day.

Captain Pendergrast of the Merrimac, and his Lieutenant Jones, dined with me yesterday. This noble ship, tell Mr. Dobbin, is attracting much attention. But (and make my apologies for venturing the suggestion) why is she to winter at Brest in preference to Cherbourg? Every national purpose would seem far more attainable at the latter than the former. I am extremely anxious to pay her a very formal visit; for in sober truth, I have "itching ears" for the booming of American cannon in British waters. The Captain, however, may be kept in London for a fortnight.

Every sunrise is expected to throw light upon the ministerial policy as to Naples. We are kept in quite an interesting state of suspense. Now we have the fleets in the Bay, and now we haven't.

Now Austria intimates dissent, and now she don't. Then Russia backs up Bomba, and Prussia, but then again neither does. Some say Clarendon's dogmatic and pragmatic violence will push on to another war; but more hint that Lord Palmerston shows the white feather, and would back out if Louis Napoleon would let him. The leading men of the Opposition take courage and hope from this intervention, which, they say, will break down the administration, whether it be carried out or shabbily withdrawn from. In the meantime, the Ominous and Anonymous bulletins of imperial illness are still circulating in defiance of every effort to stop them; his Majesty is coming, but not yet come, to Paris: he is in good health, goes to operas, concerts, baths, and reviews; "*mais, en homme d'état, il se repose!*"

Lord Clarendon has left the Queen, but is visiting about, and may not get to the Foreign Office for a week.

I hope to hear by the next steamer your idea of the Central American arrangement, and that your daughter is restored to health.

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, October 10, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Some of the suggested modifications of the *projet* underwent early discussion, were thought to enter into unnecessary detail, were not regarded as material enough to insist upon, and at all events were made to yield to the pressure of an anxiety to get on, before anything should occur to change the disposition to give up the Bay Islands. This surrender involved, as it appeared to me, so striking a triumph to the American cause and argument, that I was prepared to do, or omit doing, almost anything to secure its final accomplishment:—especially as I knew, that when once done it could not be undone, and that my own more direct work with Lord Clarendon was a mere *projet ad referendum*. Had there been any serious delay, I now know that the apprehended mischief would have occurred. I don't despair of having your improvements incorporated, but there will be difficulty, grumbling, and procrastination.

That Londonderry consul! Poor fellow! he wants to make money, and therefore made a noise. And the gravity with which disturbance in the "*labour market*" is predicated of such a puffing bulletin is really worthy of those circumlocution chambers, the Colonial Department and the Foreign Office. A

genuine rough and tumble and yelling hoosier, kicking up his heels amid the solemnities of office in this region of the globe, necessarily frightens all the red tapists, and makes every venerable political economist peer from under his eyebrows and shake ominously his theorizing noddle! I wish, however, that our wild functionary wrote better English, especially as he seems inclined to enter upon the patriotic labour of lecturing (on invitation, ahem!) upon America! Give the man a chance, my Lord Clarendon, and don't cut him down for a single exuberant caper. He is utterly unknown to me, though hailing from Philadelphia, and of a name belonging to a most extensive family there and everywhere.

The oscillating funds in Paris keep the mercantile community here in great anxiety. Some of the political quidnuncs, too, see in the Bank panic and its incidents, of an attempt to force paper and to prevent a premium on silver, an approaching revolution. The Emperor has at last got back to Paris, and certainly he seems already to have shown that he has carried with him an unimpaired mind; for he peremptorily objected to the Bank project. Still, the workmen are beginning to complain, and to press up to him! Nothing to do, high rents, and bread rising!

I think the symptoms indicate that the intervention at Naples will "fizzle" out, and leave the King

at liberty to imprison, starve, and kill, as his fears or whims may dictate. Austria appeals the question to the reconvened Congress of Paris: that is plausible, will give time, will check Lord Palmerston, will reunite the three absolutist Emperors and Prussia, and will give Lord Clarendon an opportunity to explain and back down. The Lazzaroni are with King Bomba, and the appearance of the fleets in the beautiful Bay might produce a popular outbreak fatal to English and French residents.

Strange as it may seem, I wholly forgot, until reminded a few days ago, that I possessed by law the life privilege of franking!

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, October 14, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Our consular representative at Londonderry may be considered in smooth water again. My communication to the Foreign Office, of which my last despatch presented you a copy, appeased the ruffled plumage of the Colonial Department, and the matter drops. I have, however, taken the liberty to hint to Mr. Smith that his notices hereafter should be somewhat more measured and guarded.

It is quite extraordinary with what unanimity, and

yet I must confess with what moderation of tone, the success of Fremont is here wished and expected. What good he is to do them, one cannot perceive; and, after all, unless assisted by greater rashness on our own part than can be reasonably anticipated, he will not be able, in the face of the Senate, to do his country serious harm.

I shall give myself henceforward and exclusively to efforts to carry your amendments to the *projet*, and you need not expect to be worried by my eye-straining penmanship until I am able to send the perfected treaty, or despair of it. I sometimes think that you have aimed at more perfection in the instrument than was practically important or necessary; but your points are undoubtedly improvements, and shall be pressed "until my eyelids can no longer wag." My father's favourite inculcation was "attempt the impossible, and you'll achieve the highly difficult." So here goes!

I see that you and Sir Henry Holland have been "nobbing." Pray if you have still a chance, hint to him that he is bound to return home; for I have not been well for a fortnight, and was obliged to send for another physician.

Napels in *nubibus* still. The policy of "passivity;" that is, Louis Napoleon letting England do the job while he merely looks on, will probably prevail. The coalition of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to shield Bomba, only exasperates the ministry here to obsti-

nacy and action. Soon, the ball will have rolled beyond their reach.

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. GILPIN.

London, October 17, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Two hours ago, under a Full Power received a week since only, I put my hand and seal to the Treaty which, if ratified by the Senate, must close, and with mutual honour, all strife between the two countries. Am I to be more applauded by the philosophers of Peace or reviled by the champions of War? *N'importe*; I have done what I conceive to be right, and will accept its consequences, be they what they may.

The upshot is that Great Britain withdraws from her Colony in the Bay of Honduras, gives up her Protectorate of the Mosquitoes, admits Greytown to be a Free City under the sovereignty of Nicaragua, pens up her Indian king and his subjects within a narrow and precise reservation, and promises never to overleap the limits of the Belize as they were when the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was made. That will do, won't it? And what is more, the whole of it is perfectly compatible with the honour and dignity of this great nation:—for, although the Parisian scribblers have dubbed me “the wily

diplomat," it never has and never will enter into my own sense of personal or public honour to get from political agents a dishonourable concession. That, too, I believe to have been the ruling principle of Lord Clarendon, of whose fairness and frankness, as well as ability, I cannot make too full an admission.

United and best regards to Mrs. G:

Ever sincerely yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, October 17, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The possession and communication of the Full Power so fortified my position that I was able to carry your modifications although several had been resisted before. The effect of having the authority, at all events in a measure, to decide instead of merely discuss, is that you prevent the other party from taking the chances involved in an *ad referendum*. At least it seemed to me that the exhibition of the Broad Seal had a most persuasive effect.

Mr. Buchanan once spoke to Lord Clarendon proposing a co-operation of the ministers of the two countries in favouring the union of Buenos Ayres to the Argentine Republic. Lord Clarendon adopted the idea, and advised with the French government, who also assented. He is anxious now, in conse-

quence of a letter just received from the British representative, to act; but he has never heard whether our government are disposed to carry out the suggestion. Mr. Peden it appears stands very high in general estimation, and his co-operation is much desired. Lord Clarendon requested me, informally, to ascertain how the matter stood at Washington.

In my No. — I sent you certain bills made out against our government by her Majesty's, and requested attention to them. Have you forgot them, or are they paid without my being apprised?

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, October 24, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have your Nos. 34 and 35, which will, of course, be promptly attended to and acknowledged in a formal despatch, as soon as there is accumulated enough matter.

Is it not rather singular and invasive that Mr. Guthrie should meditate building light-houses on British coasts? I rather suspect that Lord Clarendon will be puzzled how to answer the proposition. He has, however, got it fairly before him, and I hope will treat it less cavalierly than Spain did our offer to buy Cuba.

By the time you get this, the curtain will be lifted from the Presidential future. Perhaps, indeed, the result may ultimately turn upon the electoral vote of California, and you may be held in suspense for a fortnight. But I hope that you will send me a missive as soon as possible, so that I may have all the time that can be given for putting my house in order. I am perplexed about prolonging or renewing the lease of my legation. If Pennsylvania shall have proved false to her vows, I shall want to hurry up.

As I anticipated, the spirited retorts made by the Sicilian Absolutist, upon the treatment of Irish rebels and Cayenne convicts, have exasperated the policy of intervention into something like firmness and action. The embassies are to be withdrawn, and the squadrons to cruise within hail, though out of the Bay! How tenderly is the divine right to govern wrong dealt with!

O'Donnell, too, has taken already the direction of my vaticinations; and now even Narvaex is hardly servile enough for the reaction! The general impression here is that a very gloomy convulsion is at hand in Spain.

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO LORD ELLESMERE.

London, October 25, 1856.

MY DEAR LORD ELLESMERE,

Mr. Allibone, who is publishing "A Critical Dictionary of English Literature," in the city of Philadelphia, has confided to my care, for transmission to you, a specimen volume of his work, embracing only letters A, B, C. It seems to me admirable in plan, execution, and getting up, and I am desirous to hasten its reception by your lordship. Shall I send it to Bridgewater House, or is there a more direct avenue to you? It is something in shape between an octavo and a quarto.

Very sincerely and respectfully yrs.

P.S.—Has your lordship adjudicated the claim of Bacon to the authorship of Shakespeare's Plays?

TO MR. MARCY.

London, October 28, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The result of the State election in Pennsylvania has just reached us by the Africa. I suppose it may be regarded as a conclusive proof of the victory that awaits us this day week. It would seem that the majority can scarcely be less than fifteen, and may be twenty, thousand. This is a nut

which the London and Parisian editors must find it hard to crack.

Sir Henry Holland says he was delighted with Mr. Marcy, and I told him that Mr. Marcy was equally pleased with Sir Henry. In return for your kind expressions about him, he begged me not to omit conveying his best respects.

At last a significant step has been taken in the Neapolitan affair. The French and English legations are withdrawn. The movement is accompanied, however, with so much hesitation, and with arrangements as to the fleets so opposite to intervention, that King Ferdinand must regard it rather as a triumph than a hurt. The breaking off of diplomatic intercourse is, after all, a blow not very difficult to bear. According to European sentiment, Bomba may perhaps not relish being *cut* by Louis Napoleon and Victoria; but then, his lair remains inviolate; he can consult his humour there, and he may smile at the "*brutum fulmen*" while he stands between, and arm in arm with Russia and Austria. This may not be an actual "fizzle," but it so much resembles one, that it cannot satisfy any shade of political party in Parliament. Lord Palmerston has either lunged at too distant an aim, or has too readily recoiled. Most persons regard the present position as neither one thing nor the other—a sham for France and a shame for England.

Talking of a lack of British diplomatic represen-

tation at Naples reminds me that you labour at Washington under the same deprivation. How do you bear it? Have any serious inconveniences developed themselves? Or do you begin to feel that there is a point at which farther delay would be uncivil? Not a whisper on the subject has come to my ears. I believe Lord E. would like it. I believe the Duke of N. would like it. I believe Mr. V. would like it. I believe Lord H. would like it. And I feel convinced that Sir G. O., who married a daughter of Gov. Vanness, would like it. And I am persuaded that either of these gentlemen would make himself quite acceptable. But the acid of Crampton's (I beg pardon, *Sir John Crampton's*) dismissal has not yet been neutralized.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO REV. DR. BINNEY.

24 Portland Place, October 31, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I fulfilled to the strict letter my promise to you about your friend, and have had, for some two weeks or more, the response in my pigeon-holes. I hoped you might call in from day to day. It requires verbal explanation. When your engagements call you to London, I shall take pleasure in letting you see the matter in its real aspect.

Consider Mr. Buchanan elected to the Presidency on the 4th of November, by the overwhelming defeat he gave the adversary in Pennsylvania on the 14th inst. In my judgment, the indication is unerring, and makes doubt idle.

We all renew our thanks for the kindness and frequency of your invitations, and only regret that a sort of American "manifest destiny" has prevented a visit to you or Mr. W. Brown, or half a dozen others, whom we long to burthen with our presence.

Having accomplished to the entire satisfaction of the American government the adventurous and unpromising enterprise which brought me to England, namely, a restoration of amicable relations and feelings between the two countries, on terms honourable to both (a result which the fairness, frankness, and ability of Lord Clarendon reached directly and promptly) I am ready to resume my niche of obscurity at home, be our new President whom he may. Indeed, I begin to doubt whether I can consent to prolong my representative residence at a Court which does not esteem my doing so worth reciprocating. This you may consider democratic pride. Perhaps it is so. We are excessively touchy, I own, at anything construed to imply a slight from an aristocracy whose principles of personal or political conduct we do not perfectly understand. In the United States, the humblest citizen would deem

it a sacrifice of self-respect to stop at a house whose owner notoriously declined returning the social compliment. I am only, of course, illustrating the political attitude of the two nations (not referring to private life) and to explain to you why and how it may be that my "continuance here may in no measure whatever depend upon the Presidential election." A long story you will say, in answer to a single phrase.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, November 4, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

Our last accounts of the State election in Pennsylvania on the 4th of October, have created here a universal conviction that the democrats must succeed in the struggle of *to-day*. Even the inveterately anti-American and anti-slavery newspapers (*Times*, *Post*, *Advertiser*, *Globe*) are beginning to hedge, and admit that England can get along without a quarrel, let who may be President. People are wise who accommodate themselves to a relation they cannot avoid.

The great alliance is loosening. Something on this score is due to the insinuating diplomacy of Russia, which began immediately on the meeting of the Peace Congress in Paris; something to the

under-current of contemptuous remark in which the French indulge against the military capacity of their English Crimean heroes; something to the unavoidable diversity of sentiment and policy as to the Principalities; something to the manifestly inconsistent attitude of the absolutist of 2nd December, with thousands banished and perishing in Cayenne, towards his disciple Bomba; but more than either, or perhaps than all of these, will be due to the Napoleonic warning, given in the *Moniteur*, to the calumnious British press. Louis Napoleon put his hand, by this, literally into the lion's mouth, and the lion has been chafing, chewing, and biting ever since. That which touches the quick of the imperial sensibilities is the incontestably true charge of fraudulent speculation in the public funds. Private and personal aberrations may be imputed by wholesale and be disregarded, because in these regions of civilization such matters are turned into mere amusing gossip; but to swindle the masses, and especially "*les ouvriers*," by tricks in stocks, to become in office suddenly rich in this way, endangers the throne even with the army. Such an act must not be charged, if the alliance is to be continued. It is committed, but it must be concealed and indignantly denied. The spirit with which the editors confront the imperial scolding is worthy of all praise. I had cut out for preservation a fine specimen of this manliness and ability combined; but I will send it to

you with this, as worthy to fill up an idle moment at your fireside.

London is refilling. Many of my colleagues are back. Dinners are beginning. But the full tide comes only with the Court and Parliament in February.

The Merrimac left Southampton three days ago, and without my being able to visit her. She was most hospitably entertained during all her stay.

I have not a scrap on hand worthy of an official despatch, and I dare say you have not failed to detect that this scrawl is more marked by a determination to write something than by a superfluity of matter.

My best compliments to your family.

Very faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. EVERETT.

London, November 4, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

"The Uses of Astronomy" reached me yesterday morning; and I read it last night with such real delight that I cannot restrain the wish to thank you most warmly for having sent it. Nothing has given me the same pleasure, since your refusal, as Secretary of State, to enter into the tripartite guaranty of Cuba to Spain. I cannot speak of your lecture on Washington, of which I have heard a great deal, but as yet have met no copy.

You have many ardent as well as distinguished friends here, who speak with pride of having known you intimately.

Always faithfully and thankfully

Your sincere friend.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, November 7, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Washington, which quitted Southampton the day before yesterday, and by which I intended to send letters, was given up at Mr. Miller's suggestion of her being a laggard in movement, and her mail reserved for the Niagara of to-morrow. I am, therefore, able to send you two newspaper cuttings, which you may find worthy special notice.

Lord Palmerston's speeches at Manchester are in place of what he might say in the House of Commons, were Parliament in session. I have invited your eye to certain passages by marks. They will attract attention. One of my diplomatic colleagues had with me a short conversation, whose bearings on two points may make it not wholly unworthy of repetition to you.

C. This is a very strange administration!

D. Why do you think so, Baron?

C. They are not harmonious:—they don't agree among themselves.

D. I can't perceive that: at least they hide their differences from the public.

C. Well, I will illustrate. I had, two days ago, a long interview with Lord Palmerston, in the course of which I told him I could not understand the policy of the cabinet about the Principalities. He said it was very plain and very direct. No, I replied, you are for preventing their union. Certainly, he observed, you are right there. But why? I remarked; their union would undoubtedly augment their power and prosperity. Perhaps so, said he; but then, Baron, our wish is to keep them weak and to increase the powers of Turkey. *Mon Dieu!* I exclaimed, that is not the idea of Lord Clarendon; his opinion is different. Very possibly, he replied; if Lord Clarendon has expressed to you a contrary view, it is his own private one: it is not that of the ministry. We have always entertained the policy I have avowed. The Principalities must remain feeble by being kept apart. In that way only can they be kept under the influence of Turkey and be a barrier against Russia. Consolidate their strength, and the Sultan would soon find them, under the magic of Russian diplomacy, ready to join the Czar in driving him out of Constantinople. Lord Clarendon has his own notions: but *we* have *ours*.

How odd these contradictory sentiments! and for the Premier to say Pooh! pooh! to the words of the Minister of Foreign Affairs!

D. Well, Baron, do you talk again to Lord Clarendon, and you may discover that he has modified his opinions, and brought them to harmonize with those of Lord Palmerston.

This question as to the union of the Danubian Principalities has greater depth and importance in its speculative futurity and in its immediate effects, than may at first be supposed. It is vastly interesting as bearing upon the relations hereafter to exist between Russia and the rest of Europe. But its present operation in producing a disagreement on a great principle between France and England, and tending to end the alliance in angry quarrel, cannot be over-rated. The statesmen, politicians, and press of both countries are already by the ears in relation to it. It is more fundamental than the disputes about the Isle of Serpents, or the two Belgrods, or the Finland fortifications. There would seem to spring out of it at once, a new arrangement of European alliances: Great Britain, Austria, and Turkey antagonistic to France, Russia, and Prussia. The languor of the movement against Naples is a premonitory symptom.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. EDWARDS.

24 Portland Place, November 11, 1856.

I confine myself strictly to your inquiries:

1. The Electors of a President of the United

States are, by an Act of Congress of the 1st of March, 1792, "appointed in each State," and are in number equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which each State is entitled by law.

Except in South Carolina, the *appointment* by the State is made through the agency of a popular election, within 34 days preceding the first Wednesday in December.

The election in each State is conducted under State Regulations and officers; its result is certified to the State Executive; and that State Executive, by proclamation, makes the result known, and by communication to the elected.

2. The Electors, thus officially notified, are by law directed to meet wherever the Legislature of the State may appoint, and give their votes by ballot for a President and Vice-President, on the first Wednesday of December.

On meeting, they select their own presiding officer; they sign and seal *three certificates* of all the votes by them given; they send one of these certificates, by an officer of their own choice (generally one of the electors), to the President of the U. S. Senate, one other they transmit to the same person by the Post Office, and the third they deliver to the Judge of the United States of the District in which they meet.

3. On the second Wednesday in February, both Houses of Congress assemble in Convention, the

President of the Senate presiding: the certificates transmitted from the several electoral colleges are opened, the votes counted, and the persons elected ascertained and declared.

4. If, on opening the certificates and counting the votes it appears that no person has received a majority of the whole number, then the House of Representatives alone proceeds immediately to choose by ballot, out of the three highest in votes on the list, the President:—and in making this choice, the votes are taken by States, each State having one vote. If the House fail to choose before the 4th of March then next following, the Vice-President enters upon the office, as in the case of the death of the President.

So as to the election of the Vice-President; only, that, if the certificates of the electoral votes do not show a majority for any one, the Senate (not the House) chooses the officer, and may choose immediately, without waiting the result of the proceedings in the House as to the President.

Respectfully yrs.

TO MR. CHILDS.

London, November 12, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am extremely obliged to you for your kind and interesting letters. In this, a sort of exile, they comfort and cheer me greatly.

Your last spoke of Mr. T. Buchanan Read, and of your wish that he should paint two portraits for you. I gave him a strong introductory letter to Lady Franklin, and enclose her reply.

Dr. Kane has left here, and is perhaps in Paris; but, continuing quite unwell and feeble, he was undetermined whether to go to Algeria or Cuba, and I sent him such letters as I thought might serve him at either place. His book has given as much delight here as with you. A thousand congratulations on its merited success.

Very faithfully yrs.

TO JUDGE KANE.

London, November 13, 1856.

MY DEAR JUDGE,

I am afraid you have reason to complain of my not writing to let Mrs. Kane know of the Doctor's arrival here and of the state of his health. The truth is, I waited from day to day, to see him improve in strength, and thought more of him than of you.

He soon made up his mind that the climate was unfavourable, and hastened over to France; undetermined whether to go to Algiers, or to recross the Atlantic and winter in Cuba. I made him promise me a line from each resting-place as he proceeded, but have not heard from him since he left.

Of course, he was received here with open arms. His book is rapidly circulating and gives delight to every one. The reviewers and critics will begin their notices as soon as they have had time to digest it. If they prove to be what they ought to be, I will use the scissors and send them. Enclosed is a slip respecting the proceeding of the Royal Geographical Society at their meeting three days ago.

We wait on tiptoe, expecting to hear of the Africa, on Saturday or Sunday, the 15th or 16th, what you did with the Presidency on the 4th instant. No doubt, however, is entertained that our noble Party has carried 21 out of the 31 States.

Present me most warmly to all your family.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO COL. L.

London, November 14, 1856.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

Judge Jones writes me word that you are suffering under the apprehension of a domestic deprivation. I sympathize with you too warmly to refrain from writing, though I am generally unwilling to draw your thoughts away from professional business. Consolation it would be idle in me to attempt. Such calamities admit of none. Time, in its action upon a Christian spirit, administers the only balm. You and Mrs. L. have been sorely tried,

and may have dark days still to encounter, but I fervently hope you will pass through them with sentiments of submission, resignation, and firmness. Such is my sincere prayer.

Since effecting all that my most heated ambition could desire in this sphere of public service, I have indulged in meditations somewhat selfish. Such is, perhaps, the unavoidable consequence of too much delusion as to the direction we seduce ourselves to take by calling it, "devotion to one's country." After all, no individual person is wanted; if he abstain or withdraw, others by wholesale are ready to undertake and to execute any duty. We are taught this truth by a slow experience, too late to avoid the pitfalls of buoyant and blind patriotism. Perhaps, indeed, after being taught, the habit of risking every sacrifice in order to do some supposed service, would still work on. Is it not wiser and more virtuous to take care of one's own family and old age, leaving the general weal to others, unless Providence has placed you beyond the reach of want? It is easy, and it must be delightful for a rich man to be patriotic; but when a poor one becomes absorbed in his country's affairs, he really naught enriches it, and only paves the way for his own "Vanity, Vanity, and Vexation!"

We anticipate hearing to-morrow, or the day after, the grand finale of the Presidential chorus of the 4th instant. We do not doubt, as we ardently pray,

that our glorious Union may be again saved by our glorious democracy.

I remain as ever, my dear Colonel,
Your friend faithfully.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, November 14, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I don't know how better to dispose of the accompanying grandiloquent petition from Corfu, than by sending it for adjudication to you. There may possibly be some reason in what the man says as to our vessels out there wanting a consulate.

I inadvertently omitted in my last calling your attention to the fact that Lord Palmerston, in his recent speech at Liverpool, almost entirely gave in to your proposed addition to the anathema against Privateering. He makes it a mere question of time, and seems to expect the time to be at hand. We are certainly on the confines of the Millennium. I enclose my slip.

In the Despatch Bag of to-day I send a somewhat formidable-looking document addressed to the care of Senator A. G. Brown. It should be made to pay toll:—that is, I think it an article of such authenticity, clearness, and force, that it should be examined by Mr. Guthrie before leaving Washington. It is a Paper read by Mr. J. T. Danson at a meeting of the

British Association for the Advancement of Science on "The Connection of American Slavery with the British Manufacture of Cotton." Not being in print, I requested a manuscript copy, and it has been most kindly furnished. Perhaps Mr. Brown might feel himself authorized, under the circumstances, to let the paper be read as it passes on its way to his constituent of Mississippi, Mr. John F. H. Claiborne: perhaps not, and if not, I must try to get another copy.

Appearances in Paris are getting worse and worse. A financial panic seems inevitable. The Bank broods over a suspension of specie payments, and its chief directors insist upon its necessity. Napoleon remains firm against the measure. Scarcity, hoarding, high rents, placards, stock-gambling, and frightful licentiousness will, I think, soon give him an opportunity to prove the superiority of his arrangements over those of Louis Philippe to repress a movement of barricades. He has warily worked in advance, and under pretence of adorning beautiful Paris with perspective rows and colonnades "long drawn out," has opened for his artillery avenues into all the mutinous districts. He is beyond the reach of anything but assassination, and that he in a measure defies, for I am told that metallic underclothing does for him what was done for Achilles by the water of the Styx;—makes him bullet-proof. To be sure, one of these days, the army may desert

him, and then, of course, down he goes. But no symptom of that yet.

The last received of our newspapers led me to expect the Resolute at an early day.

King Bomba, after laughing at his sulking and quitting guests, is getting more gracious, and the "complication" may be esteemed at an end.

You are all now in the bustle preliminary to a session, and I ought to be ashamed of this twaddling intrusion.

Always respectfully and truly yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, November 21, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your despatch No. 37, and private letter, both of 7th November, have just arrived by the Atlantic.

I am at a loss to fix the precise clause of the Convention in which you think a *clerical* mistake has been made in using the word "*within*" instead of the word "*without*." If you allude to the preliminary declaration of Art. 4, you will on further examination perceive that every inch of territory *outside* of the reservation, or "*not included within it*," south of the Segovia, is recognized as Nicaragua's. If you go north of the Segovia, you get into Honduras. However, I await your promised more formal explanation

of this matter; although unable to see anywhere in the document a place in which it is possible, without destroying the sense, to substitute "*without*" for "*within*."

There has been a rapid series of Cabinet Councils in Downing Street, and they are still going on. Quidnuncs speculate in vain on their objects. They may relate to foreign embroglios; or to projects of domestic reform; or to changes in their own personnel. There is a talk about exiling Lord John Russell into the House of Peers. Several judicial and episcopal vacancies have had to be filled. After all, I suspect that these frequent consultations are ascribable to the ticklish position of the alliance with France rather than to any other single cause.

The first Monday in December will have arrived a day or two before this reaches you; and as the steamer Niagara quits Boston on the 3rd, I hope you may not have omitted to direct me to be supplied by her with the Message, and any other documents on hand.

Frauds and murders are the order of the day in these realms. They throw our wickedness completely in the shade. It is gravely mooted whether the revolver and the bowie-knife, those much vilified weapons, ought not to be carried by every honest and peaceable Englishman to protect his life.

London is fast refilling from the Counties and the Continent.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MILES.

London, November 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter, which circumstances prevented my answering sooner, has left a very strong impression upon my mind. Its incidents and sentiments cannot fail to be always and warmly remembered.

I do not know how long my stay in Europe may be protracted. Apart from the consciousness that I am not altogether now my own master, either to quit or to remain, I feel in doubt as to what, in a domestic point of view, it would be expedient to do. The public objects which were aimed at in coming are attained; my diplomatic job is finished; and, as I am somewhat insensible to the attractions of an idle post, and perfectly content with private life, the idea of resuming my Walnut Street home not unfrequently becomes persuasive.

The distractions which, at this distance, appeared to convulse our country, ever since the Presidential nominations, have awakened within me sad and serious anxiety as to the fate to which we may be destined. This frightful sectionalism, dividing us into North and South, giving to the former the power of population and of fanatical fierceness, and to the latter the strength of constitutional right and of social necessity, presents an aspect of things which

would seem, for the purpose of rescue and safety, almost to demand the interposition of Providence. How else is this Red Sea to be traversed? Where is the wisdom, where the self-sacrificing patriotism, the broad honour, and continental nationality of 1787 and 1789? I have never underrated the capacity of the President elect, and feel assured that the instincts of his high position will rally for his cabinet the ablest and truest men whose services he can command. What I fear is, that no one will appreciate the imminence of the danger, no one will disengage himself from the sweeping torrent of the present and strike out boldly for the future, no one will sink the victory of the day in calm and laborious efforts to prepare the regeneration of fraternity in 1860. The two sections must not be permitted to drill their respective forces for four years, and then confront each other for a definitive fight: *that* would be to risk our existence as a nation upon an issue of uncertain result. To such a pass matters should not be allowed to go:—the whole term of Mr. Buchanan would be wisely expended in rendering sectionalism impossible at its expiration.

This subject goes deeper into my feelings, owing to my being in the midst of those who show a profound incapacity to understand the federative structure of our government, and who keenly set on their Press, their Pulpits, their lecturers, their speakers, their novelists, their poets, and their

historians to produce an overpowering chorus for the subversion of a Constitution which shelters the Southern form of African labour from their crusade. Our Constitutional democracy, if *unsectionalised*, is our only means of baffling them.

I am quite curious to know the effects, actual or anticipated, of the new order of things. This curiosity is not, indeed, confined to myself. Inquiries are constantly made as to the probable course of our new chief magistrate: and before his inauguration we shall probably have his whole future shadowed out in parliamentary speeches, editorial leaders, and political dissertations all over Europe. That great Western Republic is, just now, a mighty "*John Jones*" in the eyes of the world.

Remember me to Judge Jones, Phillips, M. C., Col. Page, Col. Lee, etc.—indeed, to all whom you know I value as generous friends. Present me especially to Mrs. Miles and your boy, also to your brother, and believe me

Faithfully and sincerely yrs.

TO MR. MAROY.

London, November 23, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

After sending off my last somewhat hurried note, I resumed my search for your "clerical error" in the Convention and found it (1), after passing it

over twice, lurking in the tail of a word, and constituting the well-recognized difference, both physically and politically of *out* and *in*. When once detected, it is so obvious that you can see nothing else: like the cast in a man's eye. Two queries:—how did so palpable a mistake occur? and how put it right? Your instruction is faultless and clear, and the wrong termination must have been committed by myself in copying from your original on to a separate paper for the benefit of the final draftsman of the Convention. Once crept into the text, it is of that attenuated and subtle character (like a particle of rust upon a needle's point, or of dust upon the glass of your spectacles, both excessively obstructive and subversive) which is readily overlooked. As to its remedy: the finger once upon it, unlike the Irishman's flea, it cannot escape, and I should presume the Senate's Committee would, in briefly reporting a verbal amendment, yield to a natural desire of changing *out* into *in*. But be this as it may, I will lose no time in seeing Lord Clarendon, and in devising such form of rectification as may be deemed best. Perhaps a joint recognition of the slip of the pen, with a joint request to *scratch out and write in*, prior to final "advice and consent," would put you in complete command of the complication.

The American ultimatum about Privateering is winning its way. I must confess that, although the general principle is sound and philanthropic, I do

not think we have yet reached that point of naval power which would justify our abandoning the great private means of public defence for any consideration whatever: and I am a little apprehensive that the Paris Congress, if it convene again, may take you at your offer. Lord Palmerston at Liverpool avowed a decided leaning in that way: and Mr. Cobden is out with a letter to the same effect. As you may otherwise not see this last promptly, I send you my slip cut from the *Globe* of yesterday.

Our excellent friend the Earl of Ellesmere is labouring under a fierce and protracted attack of gout.

Suppose you add to the list of those whom I have heretofore reported as probably ambitious of representing the Queen in the White House "The Man with the White Hat," now Sir Charles Elliott, Rear-Admiral, etc. I met him at the Premier's last night, and his exceeding amiability and politeness led me to do, what Dr. Dablancour would not do, *i.e.* "smell a rat." He was slightly disconcerted when I reminded him, jocosely, of the sobriquet he achieved in the United States. He is the only candidate, if— candidate at all, whose welcome I should doubt:— and yet he may be *in petto* for us.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, November 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Austrian minister has requested me to forward a package addressed to the Imperial and Royal Legation of Austria at Washington. It is the Extradition Treaty recently executed between the Plenipotentiaries of the two governments, and the time within which it must be ratified is rapidly running short.

I have just got back from the F. O., where I *scratched out and put in*, and then drafted the note to you which I now send. Not a moment left.

Always respectfully and faithfully yrs.

TO LORD SHELburnE.

London, November 29, 1856.

MY DEAR LORD SHELburnE,

It may be observed that in the whole Treaty there is but one *letter D*, and that in Article 4. Our former missive of authorization to Mr. Marcy was not susceptible of misapplication, although, pursuing the erroneous description made by Mr. Marcy himself, it referred to No. 3 instead of No. 4. Still, after your lordship left me, I thought it best that every doubt upon the subject should be relieved.

I beg you to accept my apologies for the trouble

this inadvertence has occasioned, and my assurance of high respect.

Very truly your obedient servant.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, December 1, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

The joint request that you would correct the "clerical error" in the Treaty, was forwarded in much haste, and very near losing the post, on the 26th November by the Atlantic.

Availing myself of the first leisure moment I re-examined the verbal irregularities, and lo! here is another, not in the treaty itself, but in our united authorization to you; really unimportant, but still fit to be absolutely righted.

I had carried with me to the F. O. your despatch No. 31, to give to Lord Clarendon ocular demonstration, by showing a single sentence, that the "clerical error" had been mine, not yours: for your original contained the word "*without*" which, for purposes of engrossment, I had turned into "*within*."

Well! in drafting the paper to you to put this word with its proper ultimate, it was necessary to describe the *locus in quo* of the mistake in the treaty, and inevitably and naturally your description in No. 31, "Art. 4, No. 3, letter D" ("staring one in the face with rapid strides") was adopted.

Now, there exists in the treaty but one Art. 4, and in that Art. 4 but one *letter D*: in truth there is not in the whole document another *letter D*: to misapply the description was therefore impossible; but the description is inexact, and the vindication of positive truth is a part of the duty (is it not?) of every genuine diplomatist.

Hence, you will perceive that the enclosed paper is simply and strictly a copy or repetition, designed as a substitute, of the one transmitted by the Atlantic, only the breastwork *numeral 3* being made to yield to the pressure of *numeral 4*! *Fiat justitia!*

You will perceive by the newspapers that Parliament, again prorogued, is to meet on the 3rd of February next "for the despatch of business." Her Majesty's consideration for posterity will probably prevent her engaging in the solemnities of the occasion.

I have at last some reason to think that the ministry meditate sending, early, if not immediately, a representative to Washington. I refrain, however, until something more definitive and explicit takes place. To me, Mr. Villiers appears the prominent and "coming man." He is not, however, in perfect health, and may shrink from the effects of an Atlantic voyage.

In conversation with the Prussian minister here, I could perceive that he had recently had his attention

called by his government to the Abolition of Privateering question. I explained at large, and he seemed to approve, the views and final offer of the United States. I let him have, too, a copy of your letter to Mr. Sartiges. Count Bernstorff was at St. Petersburg during my mission there in 1837-39. He is a loyal, amiable, and attractive gentleman, inspiring confidence, but slow in exhibiting intelligence. Speaking of mitigating the calamities of war, by treaty stipulations, or by propounding, as at Paris, new articles of the laws of nations, he told me that I could form no idea of the depth of ill-will which this government had inspired by its military conduct in the Baltic and Black Seas, especially at Kertch and Odessa. The sentiment pervaded all Germany, if not all Europe.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MONS. MARCOLETA.

London, December 1, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 25th November has been received. Having very little faith in the utility of diplomatic secrecy in a case like the one to which your inquiries are directed, I should probably not hesitate to answer you fully in conversation. But the whole matter, accomplished and I believe entirely approved by the President, is in the hands of Mr.

Marcy, and may be submitted to the Senate in a few days. I prefer, under these circumstances, to abstain from putting on paper anything upon the subject. Allow me, however, generally to say that as far as respects Nicaragua, nothing, if I remember aright, has been done or proposed which you have not, heretofore, as her representative, sanctioned.

I entirely agree with your sentiment as to Mr. Marcy. On my own score, having done the only business that induced me to come here, I am ready, at a hint, or moment's warning, to resume the private life which at my age is so much more desirable than the most glittering public employment.

With profound respects to Madame Marcoleta,

I have the honour to be very truly yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, December 5, 1856.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote by the Hermann three days ago, though it is probable the present steamer will overtake her.

What I surmised in my note of the 1st instant turns out to be reality. I met Lord Clarendon at the Brazilian minister's dinner on the evening of the 2nd (his sovereign's fête day), and in the course of conversation, apart from other guests, he suddenly referred to some former chit-chat we had had, and

said, "We shall send a minister to Washington without delay; we shan't wait the incoming of the new administration." I quietly expressed my gratification, but forbore further remark. I received no hint as to the person. His manner, and other circumstances, impress upon me the conviction that the choice has been made, and that her Majesty's representative will be with you almost as soon as this letter. I perfectly well know, but deem it inexpedient and unnecessary to put on paper, the reason for this sudden ministerial decision. It has no relation whatever to the yet unarrived Resolute; none to the President elect. I hope they will send the right man. Of course, I most scrupulously avoid the indelicacy and impertinence of intimating a preference.

All your summer visitors from this country, Lowe, Holland, Delane, etc., have returned, loudly expressing their delight. The *Times*, under the influence of the last, is becoming almost fair and eulogistic. In a little while, a run to "the States" will supersede, with the rich and fashionable, the too crowded and vulgar, because close at hand, salons of Baden-Baden. Yesterday the *Times* published the best description of Niagara Falls and river I have ever read, from their correspondent, Mr. Filmore.

Very faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. J. Y. MASON.

London, December 8, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 6th reached me this morning, and I hasten to answer it, though, owing to an inflamed eye, with the aid of one of my private secretaries.

Mr. Marcy has given me no official instructions upon the subject to which you refer. He sent me very early a copy of his admirable letter to Mr. Sartiges; and I caused it to be immediately published in the London newspapers, under a profound conviction that it was vastly too important to be hid under the bushel of diplomacy. In his private letter, he left me at discretion to do this, saying that the British government not having addressed ours upon the subject at all, he did not wish me to open the matter to either of the Lords Palmerston or Clarendon, but only, in case I was spoken to about it, to be prepared to state the President's views. I have carefully conformed to this idea: and perhaps you will agree with me, now that I have stated it, that I had better not depart from it.

I had occasion, some week or two ago, in a private letter, to fix Mr. Marcy's attention on the very manly and liberal language uttered by Lord Palmerston at Liverpool; and I then ventured slightly to regret the offer of our government, and

to fear that it would be accepted by the reassembled Congress at Paris. The qualified abolition of privateering, that is, the exemption of private property on the high seas from seizure by public armed vessels, is undoubtedly a great improvement upon the bald and naked proposition of the Parisian Conference : but I do not think myself that we have yet attained that point of national power which renders it expedient to yield the right of privateering upon any consideration whatever. If the navies of England and France combined, or the fleets of England alone, are to be relieved from the necessity of dispersion, in order to convoy and protect their commerce, there is not a point of our immense coast on which they could not land any amount of force which they might deem necessary in order to countenance servile insurrection or separate the States. The danger of such a thing may be distant, and on our own soil I should hope we could get the better of any alliance : but I must confess that, until by the vast increase of our national naval armament we become more equal antagonists in the *national duel*, I should prefer not to diminish the difficulties of our invasion.

Public belligerent force is our weak point : whether it be traceable to the nature of our institutions, or an unguarded policy : this is perfectly well known to the statesmen of Europe, and when to this are added existing sectional animosities, should they

conceive the project, as they may, of assimilating or subordinating the Western to the Eastern Continent, could anything be more flattering to their hopes than the fact of our having voluntarily enabled them to swallow at a single gulp our comparatively little navy and army?

I beg pardon for saying so much, although I could add a great deal more. Too much philanthropy is the vice of the age. The Absolutists despair of their millennium, unless they can somehow get the better of American peculiarities.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, December 12, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Accept my thanks for your private note of the 24th ult. I can very well realize the business oppression to which you are all now liable, and to which you especially, in maintaining the reputation achieved within the last two years, are forced to submit. You must not suppose me so inconsiderate as to expect punctual replies to the private letters I write. I am quite satisfied in believing that they tend to keep you familiarly acquainted with political incidents and prospects, and the general tone of feeling prevalent here.

The Resolute has been in the newspapers for

some days past. Of course not having heard from you anything upon the subject, I can only speak of her departure and destination, in ordinary conversation, as they are represented in the American journals recently received. It is obvious that a disposition exists to regard the restoration of the alleged derelict (though in fact and in law no derelict at all) as something very extraordinary and handsome. Preparations to receive her are being made by the scientific sympathizers with her Arctic exploration, and her officers will, on reaching Portsmouth, find themselves objects of all sorts of public feasting and welcome. It is possible, however, that the continued stay in the country of the chiefs of the departments at this season of the year, may deprive the manifestation of its more formal officiality. It is somewhat agreeable (in a way you will understand) that the determination to send a successor to Mr. Crampton, which I communicated a week ago, was announced before the news of the sailing of the *Resolute* had reached here, and without any reference to it whatever.

I have felt restrained, by a paragraph in your private letter of the 4th of August last, from opening to Lord Clarendon the views of the President on the Abolition of Privateering. Great Britain has in no respect, directly or indirectly, imitated the example of the other powers who constituted the Congress of Paris, in consulting upon this subject the sentiments

of the United States. She has maintained perseveringly and no doubt intentionally strict silence. I am a little at a loss how exactly to regard this; but on the whole take it to indicate a consciousness that the proposition originated with her, and is thought to betray no friendly purpose. Be this, however, as it may, while she abstains from intercourse in relation to it, I presume I am bound to remain aloof. Circumstances have given me the impression (I believe I have heretofore referred to some of them) that your amendment will prevail, if the Conference reassembles, an event not yet *absolutely* certain. Quere? would it be prudent, in advance, to have the entire programme of change in maritime law sanctioned by a resolution of the Senate? It is best to keep in mind that this Parisian Congress has not the character of a permanent body, and may be persuaded to doubt whether your amendment is not of uncertain result, or deficient in the full and definite constitutional obligation. Such a doubt might be advantageously played upon by those who affect to understand the structure of our government, reasoning with Prussia, Austria, Turkey, Russia, France, or even Sardinia. I ought to beg pardon for presumptuously poaching on Mr. Mason's preserve.

Great interest is felt to ascertain what you propose doing to maintain inviolate the security of the Panama route. I do not believe that any disposition

prevails to adopt the newspaper slang, and to be uneasy about your cautionary measures in that quarter. The necessity of doing something is frankly admitted: and if what you do be in the interest of general commerce, you will not be quarrelled with should you hold a tight rein over that inefficient, though possibly well-meaning, State of Granada.

I send you, more as a curiosity than anything else, a copy of two memorials addressed to the Congress of the United States, and which I was requested, in all form, to transmit to the proper official authorities. It emanates from a self-constituted Committee at Sheffield, who have kindly undertaken the management of Foreign Affairs and the control of diplomacy everywhere. The felicitous ease with which they impute treason to the functionaries of their own government, and abuse a foreign one, is quite refreshing. I certainly could not become accessory to the presentation of any such alien document; and have therefore left them to seek a hearing through the channel of the post-office, frankly telling them that, according to prescribed rules, I did not feel at liberty to use the agencies of the Legation in forwarding their papers. This is a single illustration of very many attempts made to get countenance and importance by your minister's endorsement. The other day, a political enthusiast in the centre of Germany wrote me a violent philippic against Mr. Miller, our Despatch

Agent, for not stuffing the bag with countless pamphlets addressed to all the Legislators and Governors of the Union, and coolly demanded that I should instruct Mr. Miller to transmit what he denominated his "precious discoveries" in political science. Of course, I answered him with an entire approval of Mr. Miller's conduct, gilded by the expression of a profound regret that the statesmen of my country should thus incur the hazard of remaining ignorant of his "precious discoveries."

Owing to an inflamed eye, I eschew for awhile the use of spectacles, and have been therefore obliged to employ the pen of one of my domestic secretaries.

By-the-by, have you noticed that Mr. Consul Matthew has been appointed to Odessa? Mr. Crampton being knighted, and Mr. Rowcroft dead, the only one of your victims remaining undisposed of is Mr. Barclay, in whose favour invention is fruitlessly racked.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

P.S.—You will see by the enclosed slip just cut from the *Globe* newspaper that Mr. Cobden anticipates for your conditional surrender of privateering, an almost unanimous decision in the House of Commons in its favour. This is a sincere, and I believe a sound opinion, viewing the question as an *English one*. They will gain everything, first, for the security of their commerce, and, second, in the

concentrative efficacy of their prodigious naval armament. War will not endanger their merchant ships or their manufactures, and thus, relieved from all care about these vital interests, they may send their fleets to bully and thunder where they please.

- Opposite results may be drawn from *an American view*. Losing the right of privateering, in other words, of assailing the vital interests of our adversary, our means of aggression are nil. Our navy must be docked; and we must be content with whatever terms the adversary in this national duel may prescribe for a peace, if indeed a peace would ever be desirable or attainable.

You see, I have my misgivings on your great measure of change in the rights of nations at war. If our navy approached anywhere near to the power of the one displayed off Portsmouth last spring, I should be quite willing to let it take its chance in defending our coast:—but as it now is, and as I am afraid, by an unwise economy, it may be long kept, it is impossible to say at how many points of landing along our coast, a war would rapidly become one of invasion. However, you have no doubt considered all these matters with your accustomed sagacity, and your policy must be made to triumph.

G. M. D.—

TO MR. MARCY.

London, December 16, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Our steamers are rather disappointing us. The *America*, which left Liverpool on the 6th December, and the *Hermann*, which left Southampton three days before, have both been forced back by damage from tempestuous weather. I had mails in each: but I presume they will reach you by other vessels.

The arrival of the *Resolute* has created quite a sensation. Captain Hartstene came to London on the afternoon of Saturday the 13th instant, and I at once prepared a communication, agreeably to your No. 36, to ascertain from Lord Clarendon, whether we might be allowed to restore the vessel to the British navy. This went to the Foreign Office on Sunday morning. Hartstene dined with me that evening: and at about nine o'clock, while yet at table, I received a telegraphic express from our consul at Portsmouth, requesting me to apprise Captain Hartstene that the Queen had intimated an intention to visit the *Resolute* on Tuesday morning, and to beg his return to the ship. Of course the Captain started back to Portsmouth early yesterday morning, and by this time her Majesty has graciously welcomed her new and gallant guests. At the time I wrote to Lord Clarendon the official letter I have

mentioned, I also sent a private note requesting an interview in the course of yesterday, asking leave to bring Captain Hartstene with me. He was out of town, and only received my communications late in the day at his country residence; sending me an answer on Monday that he would meet me and Captain Hartstene at the Foreign Office to-day at 3 P.M. My object is, should I find that this government intend to accept the *Resolute*, of which no doubt is entertained, to have some understanding as to the preferred manner of having her formally made over to Sir Charles Wood's Board of Admiralty. Perhaps I may have time to add to this letter a short account of to-day's interview.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

P.S.—Just back from Foreign Office. His lordship had the answer to my letter tendering the *Resolute* lying before him unsigned, and said he would send it in the course of the evening. He is also to put me without delay in communication with the Admiralty, though he believes Sir Charles to be out of town.

Lord Clarendon specially requested me to repeat to you what he had said at the Brazilian minister's dinner about sending you a British minister. His manner intimated some difficulty in choosing out of a number of candidates. But the cabinet were upon it, and would lose no time.

G. M. D.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, December 28, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

Putting myself in the Confessional, I should be inclined to think that I was bound to acknowledge having too hastily "acquiesced" in the return of Captain Hartstene and his associates on board of a British steamer. No matter, however;—second thoughts have prevailed. Satisfying reasons have been assigned for the change of mind; and these gallant objects of a boundless hospitality will speed their way back (as now intended by the Commander) by the packet which leaves Southampton on Wednesday next, the 31st instant. What, in the mean time, will be done with them, on the score of compliments, deputations, feasts, testimonials, photographs, and newspaper eulogies, it is impossible to conjecture. The enthusiasm does not yet seem to ebb, and it may take a fresh start. Lord Clarendon writes me a private note, saying that her Majesty's government desire to present to Captain Hartstene a Sword of Honour; and that the Queen had said to him (Lord Clarendon) that she was much pleased with the Captain! The restoration of the *Resolute* has certainly been the happiest act of comity to a friendly power ever devised. The feeling it has excited would seem exaggerated, yet there it is, eager, universal, and loud. I am told (though not by our

officers) that some of those who left her in the ice show mortification, and look askance at the restorers: but they are few, and avoid attracting notice. The Washington, the steamer from Southampton, is a slow vessel, and our men may therefore have a long, cold, and disagreeable voyage. Captain Hartstene will of course hurry to Washington and give Mr. Dobbin a full narrative.

The quarrel about the insurrectionists of Neuchâtel is rapidly reaching the war point. Prussia is openly and ostentatiously arming. Switzerland, with admirable composure, exhibits the unshaken resolution of conscious right. Her spirit is up, and her people seem unanimous. The Absolutists may deem it expedient to stop the matter in some way or other, because to allow the general peace to be broken merely to gratify a king's personal pride, or to assert a shadowy *souveraineté*, don't suit modern notions, and might disturb all the elements of democracy. England just now appears inclined towards the Swiss; but, in my opinion, she will join Napoleon in mediating, upon some plan which may ostensibly save the honour of both disputants and keep things quiet. The sturdy land of Tell will, by the force of circumstances, her position, the justice of her cause, the dread of subterranean fires, and the cool and manly attitude she has taken, come off the victor, or I shall be much mistaken. The thrones of Europe are all equally affected by the epidemic of a

holy horror of agitation; even the great spider in the centre of the web keeps a steady eye on popular commotion and has misgiving fits.

I should find it difficult to convey to you a correct idea of the effect produced on this side of the water by your departmental reports of the 1st December. Of these, the most impressive and appreciable is the Treasury. They, somehow or other, insinuate themselves almost everywhere, and are more read than is generally supposed. Some men receive them with frank delight: but the prevailing feeling which they produce is of a different character, resembling that which we owned in the United States when the assault upon the Malakoff and Redan proved successful: we could not deny the magnificence of the feat, but we did not relish it, and would have preferred its failure. Precisely so with the undeniable achievements, the wonderful prosperity and substantial power of our political system; they can't be disputed, have even the eulogy of words, but they inwardly provoke dislike.

No one can say when the Paris Congress will reassemble. Its day has been sliding along through December, without settling yet. The talk is for the 29th instant: but I perceive causes for floating doubts still: and it would not astonish me if events postponed the matter until spring. Have you noticed that the ministerial press, unable since Lord Palmerston's Liverpool speech to make open fight

against your offered amendment to the abolition of privateering, are contriving modes of avoiding it? They say, it is vague in its terms, that you are insincere, that the President's message attributes to the European programme what it never meant, and so on. Now all this appears to me as merely preliminary to intriguing the Congress into a doubt as to whether the subject might not be wisely postponed to some indefinite future day. No doubt, however, you have armed my colleague of Paris with all the means and powers necessary to surmount these captious pretexts.

The East India Company's war with Persia has become a fixed fact, and of course involves, without regard to Parliament or People, the whole of the British Empire. What with this last movement, the quarrel with Naples, the growling with Russia, the stir about Switzerland, the jealousy as to France, and the approach of the session of Parliament, Lord Palmerston would seem to have his hands full.

Faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, December 30, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Owing to the slow sailing of the Washington, I would decline writing by her and wait for the America on Saturday next, but as Captain Hartstene

and his crew return to the United States on board of her, I wish the same vessel to carry a notice to you.

Although I will trouble you with a despatch by the steamer of the 3rd January, 1857, there are a few topics worth adverting to in advance.

1. Mr. Villiers has, by the advice of his physician, after deliberating for a fortnight, refused the American mission. It is now at the disposition of a Scotch Peer, whose name I am not free to mention, who is distinguished in the diplomatic line for great intelligence, winning deportment, and ultra-liberalism of opinion, who is about forty years of age, and was Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg with Sir Hamilton Seymour before the recent war.

2. The minister from Greece, Mr. Tricoupi, with whom I am on sociable and kind terms, begged me two days ago, in consequence of instructions he had received, to ask whether it would not be agreeable to our government to change the officer who represents it at Athens from a *Commercial Agent* to a Consul. His reason for urging this is the real desire felt to draw closer the ties of intercourse between the United States and Greece. Nothing of negotiation or public attention can, by etiquette and usage, be extended to a commercial agent, even though the King and Court would wish to make an exception in favour of the American.

While on this subject, I take occasion to send you a newspaper published at Athens, *Le Moniteur Grec*,

of the 9th of December instant. It contains Mr. Ranjabé's much celebrated delineation of the present social and political condition of Greece—which, if well translated, might be allowed to grace the columns of the *Union*.

3. The Sword of Honour designed by this government for Commander Hartstene will, I have reason to believe, be given this direction :—Lord Clarendon will transmit it to me, accompanied by a letter of compliment, requesting that I would forward it to the American Executive, to be handed, if compatible with law, to the gallant officer who has won the Queen's heart. Of course, I will do with it most cheerfully and promptly whatever the Earl may suggest, and I hope the Commander may find Congress disposed to let him wear his badge of courtesy.

4. Mr. Miller has brought to me, on deposit, a quarto-sized paper envelope, with the "Department of State" earmark on the north-east corner, and addressed to "J. A. Barnard, Esq., London and Port Stanley Railway Company, Secretary's Department, London." Both the man and the Company are, as the polished Parisian would say, *introuvable*, or, as the classical Floridian would call it, *non-comestibus in swampo*; for I dare say it is some scheme which vanished in the making. Pray tell me what I am to do with it.

5. Your letter of the 12th December, whether

"private," "strictly private," "confidential," or public, don't exactly appear, has reached me. It tells me that I should receive with it, what I have not received, to wit, a Cipher for our Minister Resident at Berne ; and it omits to tell me that I would receive what I did, namely, a *bulkish* packet for the Austrian legation here, which I presume may be the ratified Extradition Treaty transmitted to you through me some month or two ago. I have delivered the *bulkish* packet, but feel anxious and discomposed about the Cipher.

It may amuse you for a vacant half-hour to look over the slip I cut from the *Globe* of last evening on Maritime War. You are aware that this newspaper never contains an article repugnant to ministerial views. This is the *second* of the same sort ; the *first* I sent hastily over to Mr. Mason. They lead me to suspect that the Premier, notwithstanding his Liverpool speech, will give your amendment a go-by.

Always truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, January 6, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Very severe storms have occurred at sea, and disasters are being constantly reported. The coasts, it would seem, on both sides of the Atlantic, are strewn with wrecks. I feel some anxiety about the

America, which left Liverpool on last Saturday, the 3rd, and must have been that very night in a perfect tempest. She bore to you my Nos. 35 & 36. Winter voyages are rather to be avoided.

Can anything, however, in the shape of physical violence be as shocking as the bombardment of Canton? Talk of Greytown after that! The massacre of the innocents was comparatively heroic. Poor, harmless, unarmed, ignorant, and unconscious creatures, men, women, and children, by tens of thousands, butchered with shot, shell and fire, to avenge a disclaimed insult to a fraudulent flag!

There would seem to be accumulating a heavy score against the ministry, for Parliament to force to settlement. The public sense is greatly shocked by Admiral Seymour's infliction, and it may be that the administration will disavow. Yet, there is the amateur Persian war: and the milk and water Neapolitan fizzle: and the fast and loose game about the Treaty of Paris: and the relaxation in the Gallo-Anglican ties: and the alliance with Austria: and the lack of sympathy for Switzerland: and the shabby trick about the Income Tax: and the Premier's off-hand blunder in meddling with the Southampton election: and so on, and so on. Then the Opposition are said to be secretly organizing under fresh leaders, Gladstone and Graham, and to be fatally bent on mischief. Still and nevertheless, to my calm and disinterested eye, Lord Palmerston

steadily consolidates his power, and becomes more popular and more necessary every hour. He and his colleagues are strong, too, in their harmonious unanimity.

Statistical philosophers have suggested as one of their deductions that assassinations are epidemical. First, the King of Naples attempted, now the good Archbishop of Paris slain at the very altar: who next? and how many? Some self-exalted William Tell may be moodily prowling about the streets of Berlin; or, if the path of the disease be religious, why may not the Pope fall as well as his representative? Crimes in England are countless and frightful: but their incentive is not piety nor liberty; it is money, nothing but money.

I gave you some idea of Lord Napier, who is coming over to you as minister; but in the *Times* of this morning is an article which on his subject you may as well read, and which I therefore cut out and enclose. The sole ground of objection is practically shallow; for a man of Napier's mind and character, instead of being deluded, is disgusted by absolutist absurdities, and the better fitted for republican simplicity and truth and reason, after passing through them.

Nothing yet about the law of maritime war. The Conference would seem to have finished its business, except as to fixing the time for final departure from the Principalities and Black Sea by Austria and

England, which is left to be announced as soon as the rectified line of the Bessarabian frontier is actually surveyed and verified. What direction, then, have you given to your amendment? Will you offer it to each Power separately? and, having obtained the adoption of the majority, will you give it to the world by proclamation? I see no objection, but much to attract, in this course, except that Great Britain, who has somewhat suspiciously stood aloof from you on the whole business, may meet you at the close by saying she was no party to your modification.

The financial situation of this government, always excepting their debt, looks just now very prosperous. Their revenue has largely increased. Of a consequence, the popular demand is for a reduction of taxes and a return to the peace footing existing before the recent war. That demand will be gratified only to a limited extent. The military taste has been pampered unceasingly during the last six months, in all sorts of ways, shows, reviews, parades, feasts, speeches, etc., and now one is afraid to talk of such a process as ours in 1816, of *rascoring*.

I send a wooden box addressed to Mr. Dobbin. It is a lithograph-portrait of the Bark Resolute, a vessel destined to outlive in history, in song, and on canvas, the one that bore Jason in search of the golden fleece, or Ulysses seeking Penelope, or even Cleopatra when fighting by Antony's side!

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. HUTCHINSON.

London, January 12, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours of 24th Dec. received.

I propose sending to your address shortly, for our City Library, a set of the Patent publications of this government. The despatch agent will manage their transmission for me, so as to incur as little expense as possible. What you have called Blue Books are valueless trash, and a collection of them might fill a 74.

I will send at the same time, and for the same destination, an antique daub, painted, as is believed here, in 1720, purporting to be "The South-East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia, by Peter Cooper, Painter." It is on torn canvas, some 8 feet long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide. One of the members of Parliament, in peering among the rubbish of a city curiosity shop, picked it up and brought it to me. The principal buildings of the town of that day are pointed out, and twenty-four good old Philadelphia householders are named in a margin. Although worthless on every score but that connected with "auld lang syne," it presents at half a glance so striking a contrast to the "Consolidated City" of 1857, that it has its interest for a corner in Franklin's institution. If your colleagues repudiate it as unworthy, keep it for me.

Owing, I presume, to the tempestuous character of the season, we have been unusually long without news from home. I am not as sanguine as you appear to be about the Central American arrangement, and therefore desire to know the decision of the Senate. There are trifling points in it, at which a filibustering spirit may possibly carp. Indeed, in order to appreciate it correctly, much more study of details and bearings is necessary than will be given to it. If it be rejected, some of the rejectors should be required to devise and carry a better scheme. We are bound by the Clayton and Bulwer treaty of 1850, and, starting from that, any project that will remove the difficulties which have arisen from opposite constructions, may now be calmly discussed. If I have done anything by coming here, it is by bringing about a disposition to listen without losing temper, and honestly to contrive expedients to get rid of obstacles and avoid quarrelling on trifles. This state of feeling will, in the end, secure something effective.

Ever faithfully yrs.

TO MR. O'SULLIVAN.

London, January 12, 1857.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 6th December, which was slow in reaching me, relates to an interesting subject on which I have felt myself somewhat restrained by

the reticence of this government and my instructions. It has nevertheless entered into my correspondence with both Mr. Marcy and Mr. Mason. I believe England is the only one of the Powers represented in the Congress which announced the new programme of maritime war, that has abstained from presenting it to the United States. Quite explainable!

In the actual attitude of Nations, I entirely coincide with you in the opinion that Mr. Marcy's proposal to exempt private property on the high seas from capture, would work so advantageously for England that her statesmen ought at once to close with it. I believe they will. Mr. Cobden does not doubt that when understood it will obtain the unanimous sanction of the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston avows his theoretical approbation; but forbears to show an exulting eagerness to catch at it.

But, how about the United States? Will they be benefited by abandoning the principle and practice of *voluntary* action, and by so doubling at a single stroke the already resistless power of Great Britain's naval means of invasion and blockade? Are they prepared and disposed for the national duel wherein the parties shall be a small squadron to the West, and a cloud of concentrated fleets to the East? Will they make safety secondary to trade? Or can they forego the simplicity and economy of their federal system, and ceasing to trust emergencies to the spontaneous movements of popular defence, enter upon

the creation of large standing armies and great navies? I do not intend that these interrogatories shall be considered, *per se*, argumentative. They are only sent to you as evidence that my mind rather inclines, in the existing relations of America and England, and perhaps always jealous of an excess of philanthropy in public policy, to doubt the expediency of yielding the right to employ privateers, no matter how modified and upon any consideration whatever. To be sure, these combined potentates of Europe may try to force their international code upon us, and one of these days, with the joint condemnatory standard of "Abolition of Slavery and Privateering," they may put us on our mettle; but the probability of such an attack is not to be avoided, need not be deprecated, and may not be lessened, by our voluntarily diminishing the weapons to repel it with.

I am truly and respectfully yrs.

TO JUDGE KING.

London, January 13, 1857.

MY DEAR JUDGE,

I agree with you, the ways of life are a labyrinth, and our two actual positions are striking illustrations. My peregrinations, to be sure, are nothing compared to yours. You have wandered almost the world through: I have (as yet!) only

crossed the Atlantic. But it would have baffled, some thirty years ago, the most foreseeing prophetic vision to have traced us to where we now are.

I don't know that I am yet entitled to the praise you give me for restoring the pacific relations of the two countries permanently. It may possibly turn out to be but a deceptive truce. The scheme of arrangement is before the Senate, and, if sanctioned by that body, I verily believe it will put an end for ever to all Central American difficulties, without the slightest departure from principle or honour, and secure in that region the most glorious field and highway of active and untrammelled commerce men have ever witnessed. The Senate may think otherwise. It is not impossible that in removing all the points of controversy under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, I have crossed the grain of some who wished to get rid of that contract; and it is very likely that, in both countries, I have provoked large bodies of turbulent spirits, by preventing them from coming to blows. These are incidents inseparable from such public measures, and must be philosophically foreseen as liable to take place. Still, Marcy and his colleagues have approved and adopted, and I cannot but hope the Senate may do so too.

Do you propose a trip to London? Or what are your plans? I send my notion on the legal proposition you have stated, separately.

I am truly and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, January 13, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since my despatch of the 9th instant, nothing of interest has occurred worth relating, unless it be the visit volunteered yesterday by Lord Napier.

He stayed for about two hours, and conversed freely. His personal desire is to reach Washington as early as possible, not later, he proposes, than the middle of February. He brings his wife and children with him, and is anxious to secure for them, in advance, a furnished and healthfully situated house.

There was peculiar and attractive frankness in many of his remarks. He said that he had no political position at home, and no fortune; and although he had a title, he was quite conscious *that*, in America, would avail him nothing, if indeed it would not do him harm. He was aware also that in England there was a considerable party who would not consider him the proper man for the mission, who appreciated its great importance justly, and desired the selection of such a statesman of acknowledged weight as Lord Carlisle, or the Duke of Newcastle, or the Earl of Elgin. These ideas made him uneasy. But he had been habitually and from conviction an admirer and student of American character, and he hoped to *get on* by promoting with his best exertions the friendly relations of the two nations.

Of course I encouraged his modesty, and assured him that success or failure in his mission, as far as our public men and society were concerned, would depend upon himself alone.

At first, this gentleman will seem to you cold, a little awkward, and disposed to silence, like all the best bred and best minded Englishmen I have yet met: but I think it fair to say that, in the course of the two hours he gave me, notwithstanding his comparatively youthful appearance, I became aware that he was a man of remarkable ability, of sound unprejudiced judgment, and of elevated sentiments of morality and honour. I hope and believe that you will like him.

For the first time an intimation is given in one of the morning journals that the Queen may be disabled, from her early expectations, opening Parliament in person.

The Canada is in her 14th day, and not yet heard of! This goes to you by the Arago.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, January 20, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your private letter of the 5th January I received yesterday.

Your original suggestion, not to initiate officially

with this government any interchange of views on the Privateering question, I have watchfully conformed to ; always, however, upon the slightest approach, prepared to show the philanthropy, justice, and *generosity* of your offer. They have studiously kept away from the subject, although many opportunities for opening and discussing it frankly have presented themselves. I suspect the existence of divided councils, indeed so equally divided as to prevent movement. We shall have it in the House of Commons shortly after the session opens, a fortnight hence.

Until within this last year, I had been accustomed to regard the perpetual untruths which disgrace our newspapers as rather the results of mistake or the discolorations of fancy, than as intentional falsehoods. My charity has lately been much shaken ; for I have seen so many utterly unfounded statements respecting myself, that I can find no mode of accounting for them but in a malignant invention steadily pursuing some unseen objects.

I need hardly say to you that the paragraphs which in our journals connect my name with the coming-cabinet, are all, from first to last, false and flimsy. Since he left London in March last, not a syllable has reached me from our President elect ; and my correspondence to him has been confined to two letters, one relating to the sad drowning of a Lancaster gentleman, Mr. Witmer, and another, more

recent, covering a congratulatory note from Lady Alice Peel, which, being addressed simply to "*the President of the United States*," exacted a short explanation from me, of my reason for knowing that it was intended, not for General Pierce, but for him. Nay, more; I have written to you much oftener and more freely than to any one else, and I am quite sure that nothing has escaped me respecting possible appointments that was not of the most general character. The stream of misrepresentation will probably be kept flowing until after the 4th of March.

Chess players are sometimes blind to the most powerful moves with which they can fortify their game. Those gentlemen who are unable to see the preponderating influence in Central America, and *all around* that region, secured, by the scheme of pacification, to the United States, her policy, and her citizens, had better give up the *role* of statesmanship, and confine themselves to the art of managing personal and prurient explosions of predatory violence. Your treaty does everything for the honour and interest of the nation, and for the independence and safety of the Central American States, in all future time; but these sages think nothing done because Walker is not patted on the back! Well, if the spirit of filibusterism can't see beyond the tip of its nose, and, like abolitionism, it increases in force, we shall ultimately have, I suppose, to submit to our "blind guides," and let them lead us to calamities

which they have not the sagacity to provide against. If, however, they *will* go on in their own way, do, I beseech you, encourage them to appropriate, boldly and promptly, all the surplus revenue to fleets and forts.

The Chinese and Persian wars are daily becoming more substantial: the Prussian and Swiss one has *fixed* out under the soothing assurances of England and France: and King Bomba is let alone. It is well for quidnuncs that Parliament approaches. Lord Palmerston will meet it in a spirit of exultation; and unless Lord John Russell be soured, the opposition will be faint. The effect of the Senate's declining to ratify will be worth watching.

I have taken it for granted that Mr. Fay has apprised you, as he did me, of his having safely received the Cipher.

You will have by this opportunity, the Baltic, the brother of your minister at Constantinople. He brings you a purely commercial treaty with Persia for ratification. He has been a good deal with us, and we have found him a very intelligent and agreeable traveller.

Though not as cold as with us, the weather here, for full three months past, has been raw, uncomfortable, and suggestive of suicide. Very little snow or ice, but much rain.

I received in the Despatch Bag yesterday a letter from *Paris*, of the 11th December, 1856, which had

taken the circuitous route of getting to London by first going to the United States! It was from Mr. J. Y. Mason, and fortunately did not relate to anything of importance. Such a mistake, however, might, under other circumstances, cause great embarrassment.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, January 23, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

After having sealed the despatches and letters for the steamer of to-morrow, I have just received a note from Lord Clarendon, in which he seems much worried by the delay of Lord Napier's departure, arising exclusively out of domestic arrangements. He tells me, too, that he has written you a letter accrediting Mr. Lumley as *Chargé*, so as not to postpone any longer "the formal official renewal of our diplomatic relations."

How far, in all this loss of time, the reported non-ratification of the treaty may have had its effect, I cannot pretend to say. Of Lord Clarendon's sincere desire to do everything that can contribute to make by-gones by-gones, I am unable to entertain a doubt. Still, negotiators, like other parental personages, are not apt to be gratified by the crucifixion of their offspring. At least such is my opinion just now.

I send you to-day *three* swords, and all for naval officers.

The quarrel between Prussia and Switzerland is "a dead cock in the pit," and the prisoners are at large.

There are editorial hints of changes in the ministry :—the ejection of Sir Robert Peel, and a coalition with the Peelites upon giving appropriate places to Mr. Gladstone and Sir James Graham :—but I consider the whole rumour apocryphal.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO LORD CLARENDON.

24 Portland Place, January 24, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,

Your note of yesterday, though received at the eleventh hour, came in time to permit my writing to Mr. Marcy, and I did so.

I have always supposed that our scheme of pacification would encounter the resistance which was met by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty : aggravated, perhaps, by the debility incident to a retiring administration. Opposition, therefore, does not surprise me. But the newspapers exaggerate it, on the principle of "fanning the embers." I have many private letters from gentlemen on whose information and judgment my reliance is implicit, and all unite in saying that the ratification is certain. Still, like yourself, I am

anxious, and impatiently wait the next steamer, which will be due to-morrow. The secret sessions of the Senate are invaded by those only who cater to an appetite for new excitements; and the deliberations and prospects connected with a matter so important as the treaty are sure to be falsely represented. Remember, too, that as the ratification requires two-thirds of the Senators present, there is always room for hostile speculation and prophecy.

I cannot think the enlightened and judicious body before which the plan is pending will be unwise enough not to accept it.

Always faithfully and sincerely yrs.

TO MR. GILPIN.

London, January 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 25th December came just in time to prevent my giving you up, as relapsed into that feverish antipathy to pen, ink, and paper, for which more than a year ago I worried you with prescriptions. I heartily thank you for it. The contents were in every way kind and consolatory. The truth is, for the last five months the business of the legation has kept me hard and close at work, making it impossible to leave town, while all the rest of the world were away: and, even during the hours of daylight, that is from 10 to 4, no time was given for

relaxing and refreshing pursuits. Strange as it may seem to those who entertain the common notion as to the idleness of diplomatic life, although I have been more than ten months in London, and constantly anxious to visit objects worthy of attention, my feet have not yet crossed the thresholds of Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, the Tower, and hundreds of other interesting edifices, made classical by recollections associated with them, or by the purposes to which they are now devoted. I have allowed myself to be perhaps too much absorbed by the substantial business undertaken a year ago, and which, while a vestige remains to do, jealously excludes all thoughts of other matters. I must confess that after so much systematic devotion to it, the prospect of the non-ratification of the treaty is not the most digestible thing imaginable. To be sure, the old hostility to the Clayton-Bulwer Convention would naturally spring up again, in the hope of ultimately so impeding the pacific execution of *that*, as to render a formal legislative declaration of its annulment necessary. This I expected; but the possibility of its even approaching to success never entered seriously into the account. I cannot help thinking that the scheme of adjustment is not properly studied in its details. Certainly it contains no pledge, direct or indirect, to sustain or encourage the individual Walker (if that be deemed essential, another negotiator is necessary, both to make the

proposal, and to bear its rejection); but, as regards the expansive policy of our country, and especially the future opened for American enterprise and commerce in the Central American and West Indian regions, I am quite convinced and conscious that the plan far outstrips, though in a peaceful, just, and honourable manner, the crude, fitful, and unlawful projects of our filibuster-statesmen.

If it fail of adoption, these gentlemen will defeat their own alleged objects because they are not permitted to carry them out in their own peculiar and unjustifiable way; a way which is founded upon the great vice of our public men, namely, a restless want of confidence in the natural energies and persevering progress of American citizens. Under the stimulus of a safe and uninterrupted trade, the cloud of British naval armament dispelled, and one or more free cities as *appuis*, we should in less than five years exercise controlling influence on the Isthmus, elbow out the Mosquitoes, render the Belize a comparatively neglected and dwindling settlement, and possibly entertain volunteered offers from their respective owners for the purchase of Cuba and Jamaica. Walker, Nicaragua Walker, is, by habit, incapable of waiting this development, and may be excused if he blunder so egregiously as not to catch at the arrangement proposed; but that Judge D., Mr. S., or Mr. M. should fail to appreciate correctly the practical consequences of it, is marvellous and in-

comprehensible. Delay may have sharpened their sagacity: if so, the treaty will be ratified.

I interrupt my Lord Napier's industrious preparations for his voyage by a diplomatic dinner (twelve only) to-morrow; and this I mention to show you my disposition to secure his favourable reception in the United States, by such endorsement as I can officially give. The young gentleman I propose introducing to you, and to Mr. Everett and Mr. Bancroft; he is of those tastes and attainments, of simple and unaffected manners, and, I think, of more intellect than Crampton: his wife is said to be quite an agreeable person. He has published a book or two in the nature of travelling observations. He is of excellent Scotch lineage; his great-great-grandfather having invented Logarithms, and the Duchess of Inverness (now resident in Kensington Palace) being his aunt. There is in my office, hanging over the fireplace, Doo's celebrated engraving of Wilkie's picture of John Knox preaching to Mary Queen of Scots, and on his first visit to me, Napier pointed at the little boy standing near the desk under the pulpit, with his back to the spectator, and looking up as if riveted by the roaring speaker, and he said *that* was his renowned ancestor. Perhaps he may, but my opinion is that he will not reach Washington before the inauguration.

I am convinced on reflection that, in a former letter, I told you of my having left the parcel you

sent for Sir Charles Fellowes. It was done on the same day we visited Mr. and Mrs. Grote; the two last called in about a fortnight, having come in from the country for the purpose; the former has been content with the parcel. Your friend Bright is in Algeria or Italy, in pursuit of health. No one entertains a hope of seeing him again in public life, though his relish for it obviously lingers. Mr. Cobden will probably take an active part in the proceedings of Parliament, which opens on Tuesday next, and expects (naturally, from an English stand-point of view) to get a unanimous vote catching at Mr. Marcy's offer for the abolition of privateering. The ministry are likely to be stronger and more popular than ever. They derive wonderful security from the absence of men fit to take their places. The Queen foregoes reluctantly the ceremony she delights in of opening Parliament in person. Odd enough! since writing the preceding line, I have been told that her Majesty has suddenly announced her determination to attend, *quand même*. Lord John says, *nolo peerifi*.

European politics have, just now, all the insipidity of a game of chess without a plan; no great piece is called into action, and pawns are straggling over the board, surprised at their own progress. The affairs of Naples and Switzerland are by-gones. The system of confederating, for mutual support and security, all the monarchies, through the agency of Parisian Con-

ferences, is I think firmly inaugurated. We have on hand, however, two pretty considerable wars, the Chinese and Persian; and the condition of Spain promises an early explosion and imbroglio.

My despatch bag demands its food.

Pray remember us all most kindly to Mrs. Gilpin.

Always sincerely and faithfully yrs.

TO GENERAL PIERCE.

London, January 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

A highly respectable deputation waited upon me yesterday with the request that I would transmit to you a Memorial from the European and American Electro-Telegraph Company. They assured me that their only desire was to let Congress, now contemplating legislation upon the subject, be apprised, if you deemed it proper, of the advantages which they conceived their scheme to hold out. I promised simply to forward their paper, and do so now.

Since I left home, eleven months ago, Gov. Marcy has despotically monopolized, through despatches and letters, all the thoughts worth sending from the legation. I beg, however, to say, that I have taken it for granted that what I wrote reached you with as much certainty as if directly addressed to you, and of course with less appearance of presumption on my part. In this view I ought perhaps to apologize for

having so often intruded upon you the light, crude, and fugitive ideas and opinions of the current hour in this place. Nevertheless, I cannot permit you to renew your enjoyments and repose in private life, without once more, and that shortly, putting you to the trouble of reading a letter from, dear Sir,

Ever most respectfully and faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, February 8, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

At the *soirée* of Countess G. last night, were a number of the Privy Council (in their gold-embroidered suits), and one of them said to me that the Queen's speech to-day contained a sentence or two upon the United States. I am therefore anxious to be at the opening (which is by Commission) and hope to get home again before 5 o'clock, and make a brief report to you for the steamer of to-morrow morning.

Lord Panmure took me apart to express his sentiments upon the subject of the Report of *our* Secretary of War to Congress: and pressed me very warmly to convey to General Davis his grateful sense of the manner in which the courtesies shown to our commissioners, Messrs. Delafield, Mordecai, and McClellan, had been noticed by him.

An expectation is prevalent that the ministry will be more severely tried than I had supposed. It is thought that they may founder on the sharp rocks of finance. The call for reduction of taxes is loud and general; and though this call is met by the new wars of China and Persia, those wars are themselves condemned as artfully predetermined in order to save the Income-tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, an honest and able man, is prosaic: and in view of this characteristic, and of the emergency, it is foreseen that an effort will be made to bring in the brilliant oratory of Mr. Gladstone.

Lord Napier tells me that he has directions to proceed to Washington without delay. But he represents the difficulties of getting ready in a manner that satisfies me he will not reach Washington before the middle of March.

The Queen's speech, as read by the Lord Chancellor, contained as little as it was possible to put together. On our subject not a word but that she had been negotiating, and hoped all differences would be settled. A single *point*, the only one, is the adoption of the Canton massacre.

My diplomatic colleague of Lisbon, Mr. O'Sullivan, is expected here on a visit in the course of the present week.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. MARCY.

London, February 13, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Europe would seem to be settling herself for another long spell of peace. Fresh negotiations on the Persian war are opened at Paris between Lord Cowley and Ferouk Khan : though the Shah vents a measure of indignation on the abrupt capture of Bushire. If the quarrel be not arrested, Russia must obviously take her part in it, and is already approaching the frontiers of Persia, as an ally in case of need. A member of the cabinet told me recently that it would soon be settled.

The question as to the union of the two Principalities, now that Bolgrad and the Isle of Serpents are disposed of, is looming up into the importance which I originally ascribed to it. One of its first fruits is to create a new division of cabinets : Russia, France, and Prussia on one side, for the unity : England, Austria, and Turkey against it. The inhabitants are represented as disposed to form a single nation and to choose a foreign king. The *Moniteur* has avowed the imperial sentiment and policy. Qu.? Is he forecasting for a throne for Prince Jerome?

The affair of Neuchâtel is being arranged, as fast as *gout* or *grippe* will permit the negotiators to indoctrinate Louis Napoleon. It cannot possibly be

allowed to disturb the serenity of European order again.

You will have noticed the "adjourned question of veracity," in the House of Commons, between the Premier and Mr. Disraeli, on the assertion made by the latter that "a secret treaty" was actually entered into, with the assent and approbation of this government, between France and Austria, by which the Italian possessions of the latter were guaranteed to her by the former, while at the same time the ministry were seeking popularity by a public affectation of desiring Italian nationality. Three passages of arms have come off; and, until the one of the last evening, opinion leaned in Palmerston's favour. His admission that, after all, such a *Convention* was signed in December, 1854, reinstates the discredited veracity of his opponent, and leaves him nothing to stand upon but the general reasoning as to the nature and circumstances of the treaty not justifying the conclusions drawn from it. The *fact* which he pronounced a *romance* he finally concedes.

I told Lord Napier, who leaves in the Persia on the 21st instant, and therefore cannot reach you until after the inauguration, that he would experience no difficulty at our custom-house on arriving. But, to obviate the possibility of embarrassment, may it not be expedient that special directions should issue?

The Queen came in from Windsor Castle to Buck-

ingham Palace yesterday. Her confinement is expected early next month.

By the time this reaches you, the new cabinet will be known. Wherever I go, I am eagerly questioned as to its composition; but I remain as profoundly ignorant as if, instead of being at the grand distributing office of information and news, I was immured in an Esquimaux hut, at or near the North Pole. I dare say the good quidnuncs here disbelieve in my alleged emptiness, and regard me as a sham. My correspondents, yourself among the number, have been singularly reticent upon the subject.

Your winter seems to have been unusually severe. Here, more frost than is common. But the last three or four days have been delightful weather; and the approach of spring is heralded by the appearance of bunches of crocuses and violets offered for sale in the streets.

My respects all round.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO LORD CLARENDON.

24 Portland Place, February 15, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,

While impatiently waiting the result of Senatorial advisement (of which I have just received cause for entertaining less doubt than ever), it has struck me that your lordship might be pleased to

see that there was one man at least in the United States, who seems to have seized, in the midst of its details and complications, the essential spirit of our treaty. I enclose an editorial cut from a New York paper that reached me yesterday.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO LORD CLARENDON.

24 Portland Place, February 23, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,

I received several letters yesterday from Washington. The prospect of ratification is very gloomy, but the finality not yet reached. It is barely possible that the vigorous exertions of the Chairman of the Committee may save the substance of the treaty: but I must confess, after what has been said and done, my hope, as a Yankee would say, has been whittled to the smallest end of nothing.

The end cannot be reasonably expected for a week.

Always faithfully and respectfully yrs.

TO LORD CLARENDON.

24 Portland Place, March 3, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,

The treaty was again reported by the Committee to the Senate, with several really unimportant

amendments. Forty-five members were present, and thirty votes, therefore, necessary to ratification. Its friends seem to have determined to avoid a vote on that final question, and to let the responsibility lie with the incoming administration. *Five* more votes would have been enough to *ratify*, but twenty-five were a majority, and sufficient to *postpone* the consideration of the subject to the 5th of March, the day following the inauguration: that was effected by twenty-five ayes to twenty noes.

My letters do not warrant me to encourage a hope less attenuated than the one I described in answer to your former note.

Believe me faithfully and resp. yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

(Unofficial.)

London, March 10, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

It may be important that you should have early the first indications of opinion among public men here on the Anti-Privateering question. This morning's *Times* contains the report of a debate last evening in the House of Commons touching that subject, and I have cut out the enclosed as worth sending to you.

At this particular juncture, when both political parties are preparing for a popular canvass, Lord John Russell seems to have more than usual in-

fluence and weight. He is averse to the proposal made by Mr. Marcy in the letter to Mr. Sartiges, and of course to the Convention I have recently submitted.

Mr. Cobden expresses an opposite sentiment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer speaks on the point with great caution, and, I think, justifies an inference that we shall have no reply to the invitation until the elections are over.

I am very respectfully yrs.

TO MR. WOLFF.

24 Portland Place, March 11, 1857.

MY DEAR MR. WOLFF,

I send you, in reply to the memorandum which accompanied your note, some remarks and references, which, though themselves very imperfect, may be serviceable to Sir John Burgoyne, in his researches respecting the militia of the United States.

Very sincerely yrs.

MEMORANDUM.

The number of the militia of the United States, as appears by the Army Register of 1856, is 2,421,163. The return for the present year will probably be about 2,500,000, as it will include what was omitted in 1856, the returns from the State of Iowa and the Territories of New Mexico, Oregon, Washington, Kansas, and Nebraska.

1st. The Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sect. 8, Cl. 16, vests in Congress the power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

The following laws may be examined to show how this constitutional power has been exercised :—

1. An Act more effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States. —Passed 8th May, 1792.—1 vol. United States Statutes at Large 271.

2. Act of 6th July, 1798. 1 St. at Large, 576.

3. Act of 2nd March, 1803. 2 St. at Large, 207.

4. Act of 3rd March, 1803. 2 St. at Large, 215.

5. Act of 10th April, 1806. 2 St. at Large, 359.

6. Act of 18th April, 1814. 3 St. at Large, 184.

7. Act of 20th April, 1816. 3 St. at Large, 295.

8. Act of 12th May, 1820. 3 St. at Large, 577.

2nd. The enrolment in the militia is variously regulated in the different States, and is enforced by moderate pecuniary fines.

3rd. The mustering, training, and service are gratuitous.

4th. The officers are generally elective, and commissioned by the Governor of the State.

5th. Arms, ammunition, and accoutrements are furnished by the several States, and deposited in arsenals under State militia officers.

6th. Clothing is not furnished, nor do the militia, unless formed into volunteer companies or called in the service of the United States, wear uniform.

7th. The Acts of Congress already referred to will show the authority for calling out the militia; but a clear comprehension on this point may be formed by consulting the following cases decided by the highest judicial tribunal: *Martin v. Mott*, 12 Wheaton's Reports, 19; *Houston v. Moore*, 5 Wheaton's Reports, 1.

8th. Numerous public documents upon the subject may be consulted in the two folio volumes of American State Papers

which are appropriated to "Military Affairs," and which, I presume, can be, as they ought to be, found in the Library of the British Museum, and perhaps in the Libraries of Parliament.

TO MR. HUTCHINSON.

London, March 16, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

I hope the five cases have safely reached you. One of the bills of lading accompanied them in the City of Baltimore: the other I have retained.

Mr. M.'s bill of charges is enclosed:—in all £5 12s. 0d. The Library Company can either remit this amount, or, if they prefer it, I will pay Mr. M. and be reimbursed when I get home. The charges and the freight, £7 7s. 10d.—say sixty-three dollars, constitute the entire cost of what I think may be esteemed one of the most valuable acquisitions. I owe you many thanks for having suggested to me this mode of being accessory to benefiting our city and State.

The ministry, outvoted on the Canton outrage in the House of Commons, dissolved Parliament, and are hastening their appeal to the country. They are confident of a triumph, and indications are thus far strongly in their favour. Lord Palmerston's personal popularity has some resemblance to that of General Jackson: his partisans concede his violence and his arrogance, but call them an excess of patriotism.

Bluster seems, in all countries, to have its charms for the mass. The new Parliament will meet probably about the 25th of May.

Remember us all affectionately to your family.

Ever faithfully yrs.

TO MR. DIXON.

London, March 23, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

We were all gratified at hearing from Fitz that the Russian helmet, picked up on a Crimean battle-field the day after the head had been knocked out of it, was acceptable to you. Armour of this sort augments in interest in a collection like yours, and with the lapse of every year.

I think your beautiful work on surnames is faultless in its new edition. Mrs. D., Phil., and I have many thanks to make for our respective copies. In speaking of it, by-the-by, some days ago, to an acquaintance, he said he had in his library a book upon the subject, which he regarded as a curiously laboured production, and which he sent me to look over. It is in two small octavo volumes, and is entitled "An Essay on Family Nomenclature, Historical, Etymological, and Humorous." The author is "Mark Anthony Lower." It is probable that you know and have the work, as its third edition was printed in 1849.

I looked for his notices of our three names. Of *Dixon*, he says in his list of "*sonnames*, nurse names, and diminutives"—what you seem to agree with, thus "Richard, Richards, *Richardson*, Ritchie, Rickards, Hitchins (l), Hitchinson, Hitchcock (l), Dick, Dickson, Dixon, Dickens, Dickinson, Dickerson."

Of *Homer*—he ranks it in a batch corresponding with the designations of "the divinities and celebrated persons of classical antiquity, such as Venus, Mars, Bacchus, *Homer*, Tully, Horace, Virgil, Cæsar. These are doubtless derived from traders' signs. The former three would be appropriate for Inns:—the remainder for the shops of mediæval dealers in books or their materials. So recently as the last generation a celebrated publisher gave his establishment the name of the 'Cicero's Head.'"

Of *Dallas*—he places it in a class deriving the second syllable from "*House*." This, with your signification of Dall, would make the name purport "the house in the valley." I remember that my father used to sport, by addressing my mother with a quotation from Swift, "Mrs. Dalhousie, great Goddess of War!" etc., etc.

Always most truly yrs.

TO DR. DUOACHET.

London, March 25, 1857.

MY DEAR DR. DUOACHET,

I send you an exceedingly interesting judgment, but now pronounced by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on points of church furniture and ornamentation, parts of which would seem somewhat applicable to our dear old St. Stephen's.

The suits began in the Consistorial Court, where decrees were given by Dr. Lushington broadly against the use of crosses, candlesticks, credence tables, and altars. Appeals were taken to the Court of Arches, and Dr. Lushington's decisions were affirmed. Finally, the cases were taken before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and, after a protracted and able argument, have ended in the judgment I enclose, which affirms in part and reverses in part, and which is characterized by such deep research and sound sense that I presume it will be accepted as conclusive on the merits of the controversy.

It would appear to be distinctly adjudged that the Communion table should be of wood and movable: and I am under the impression that ours is of white marble, and too ponderous to be stirred without machinery. How is this? If as I suppose, then I think it would be wise to consult upon the subject

in vestry, and, under your controlling advice and wisdom, to have such steps taken as may prevent any charge of deviation from material forms. Of this, however, I am rather presumptuous in making a suggestion. You will excuse (won't you?) what springs only from an affectionate interest in all that relates to yourself and our temple of Protestant worship. Perhaps you know that, many years ago, I assailed in verse the cross surmounting the steeple of St. Peter's:—Bishop Doane replied to my rhymes: and it is now authoritatively established that I was wrong and the learned Bishop right. "*Stare decisis*" is a rule alike orthodox and conservative.

Your disciples here are all in good health, and send their kindest regards to Mrs. Ducachet and yourself.

Always your faithful and sincere friend, etc.

TO MR. CASS.

London, April 2, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Let me thank you for your two private letters of the 11th and 17th of March, which reached me at the same time three days ago. They have led me to think that the informal and unofficial correspondence which I kept up with Mr. Marcy may not be unacceptable to you. One prefers, in lounging or in writing, not to be in full dress.

I pity you all from the bottom of my heart. Nothing can be more deplorable than the harassing state of siege to which every new administration is subjected. Your description (which almost resolves the whole country into a heavy mass of Ins and Outs) reminds one of the recent *bon-mot* of the Duke d'Aumale, who, speaking of the social state of Paris, said there were but three classes, "les fonctionnaires, les factionnaires, et les actionnaires."

The elections here have absorbed attention. The whole operation has been effected with a sort of "*snap-judgment* rapidity," much faster than a debatable question would be brought to a vote in the Senate. John Bull can't bear being without his omnipotent Parliament for a moment. He fancies the whole social edifice at hazard, and he hurries blindly to manufacture a new one. Not one-sixth of the old body will undergo change; and such changes as are made do not spring from calm consideration, which moves slowly, but from the personal passions of the moment, which are quick in striking. Two features of result are already quite obvious: a great accession to the incongruous strength of what is called the Liberal party, and a decisive individual triumph to Lord Palmerston. The early scenes of the coming Parliament will be full of ministerial exultation; but in the belief of many astute politicians, this will be short-lived, for the elements of discord among Liberals are countless and imprac-

ticable. If Lord John Russell exhibit his usual tact, the city of London has re-endorsed him in a manner which may make him an early successor to Lord Palmerston. Much, but not everything will be indicated by the choice of a Speaker;—and it is amazing how few gentlemen of either party are admitted into the category of the competent.

Nothing worthy of a regular despatch. Not a syllable from the Foreign Office on the Maritime War Convention. The attitude of Lord John Russell as to this will seriously tend to defeat the movement. Besides, Cobden and Bright and Gibson and Walmsley have lost their elections. Yet, it is worth while noting that a correspondent of the *Post* is labouring a series of essays, and with some adroitness leans to the *projet* of Mr. Marcy. I am quite in a fever to hear from you on the subject.

Somebody, it appears, finds access to the *penetrabilia* of your department; for I find in the *Morning Star* of to-day, as extracted from the New York *Herald* of the 19th March, what *professes* to be a copy of the Central American Treaty, but what in fact is a copy of one of its *projets* subsequently altered. So that even your unperfected documents are, for some purpose or other, dug from their dormitories and paraded in the papers. I wonder whether the Senators may not have been perplexed with the several drafts, adapted to my several instructions which I transmitted to Mr. Marcy? The mistakes in newspapers

as to the provisions and phraseology of the instrument are innumerable, and to me incomprehensible. But fifteen days remain of the six months during which the ratifications are to be exchanged. I suppose they will complain here of the short time left them for deliberation on the amendments. They will have ten days, not more, should your final instructions come by the next steamer. Perhaps the whole period will be allowed to run out! As soon as it appears that the proper moment has arrived, I shall write you a special letter on a special topic as regards myself.

Ferouk Khan (pronounced here Cawn), the Persian ambassador, cottons singularly to your minister. He prides himself upon having made the Treaty with Mr. Spence: and proposes to remain here until he can exchange its ratifications. If he did not suffer dreadfully from sea-sickness, he assures me that he would visit the United States, and expresses a hope that the two countries may soon interchange diplomatic representatives.

Señor Don Bravo, the newly-arrived envoy from Spain, is quite an agreeable gentleman:—a genuine black-eyed, black-browed, black-haired, black-moustached, sallow-tinted, short, and compact caballero. With a smattering of his tongue, fetched from the memories of fifty years ago, I get along with him tolerably well. They say there are shades on his past; but of that I know nothing.

The Greek minister, whom I esteem as one of the most intelligent and estimable of the Corps, was enchanted on my showing him that by our new Tariff, *currants*, under the description of dried fruit, would be admitted at a duty of $8\frac{1}{2}$ instead of the old 40 per cent. ad valorem. By-the-by, I wrote Mr. Marcy that this gentleman, in order to cultivate the intercourse between our and his country, had been instructed to suggest the expediency of our converting the *Commercial Agent* of the United States in Greece into a *Consul*: the latter allowing more public manifestation of regard from the Court. He has spoken to me again on the subject. I presume Mr. Marcy was preoccupied with arranging old matters, and avoided new ones, as he did not notice the idea.

The news from China, given out by the ministerial candidates at the hustings, to the effect that the Emperor did not approve the conduct of Commissioner Yeh, does not seem to have been well founded. Now that it has served its purpose, it is discredited. The electric telegraph is not the most reliable agency. I perceive prevailing here among official men a solicitude that the United States should join England and France in their proposed pressure against the wall of exclusiveness within which the Chinese choose to exist. I retain the opinion expressed in a former letter, that the two powerful allies meditate a serious aggressive movement, if not a military occupation, in the disorganized land of

Tartars, Teas, and Junka. The moment is propitious. Neither Louis Napoleon nor Lord Palmerston is averse to maintaining tranquillity at home, by turning the public gaze to military proceedings at a distance. The merchants do not seem to apprehend, as a consequence, any important disturbance of commerce.

Allow me to enforce the suggestion made in my last despatch, respecting the Supreme Court's decision in the case of Dred Scott, by adding that if we do not, in some authentic form, let this prejudiced portion of the world have access to the *whole truth*, it is a hundred to one that the *dissenting opinions* of Judges McLean and Curtis will be represented and almost universally received as *the Judgment*. As to obtaining from the Press here, or anywhere in Europe, a fair and impartial exposition of the relation of slavery to our national constitution, so as to vindicate the principles and practice of our national democracy, no hope can be conceived more chimerical.

Parliament is to assemble on the 30th of this month. I am told that the swearing in of the members will consume a week, and no important business will take place before the expiration of that time. The Queen will not open it in person, as she will hardly have recovered the fatigue of dropping another pearl in the jewelry casket of her devoted subjects. Her Majesty still drives out every day, showing that

if there be no royal road to learning in general, there is undoubtedly one to the multiplication-table. Pray present my respects and regards to all around you, and believe me

Always cordially yrs.

TO MR. MARKOE.

London, April 3, 1857.

MY DEAR MARKOE,

Don't abuse me—though you have certainly a right to do so—for putting your kind energies under contribution to accomplish, if possible, two small purposes which I found it impossible to avoid undertaking.

Primero. Can the Secretary of War under the statements of the two notes I enclose, be induced to spare poor Mr. W. H. B., who unwittingly enlisted in our army, and has incurred the penalty of desertion? His family is of high respectability, and I should be much pleased if they could be gratified by having their reckless kinsman sent home.

Secondo. Has there not been published in Washington a work entitled "Report on the Commercial Relations of the United States," Vol. 1? The Department of State ought to possess it for distribution among the foreign legations. I certainly ought to have a copy. But I specially want a copy for "The Statistical Society," and if your department

can't order it sent to me, you must be kind enough to direct any one of the librarians on the Avenue to address it to me in the next despatch bag, letting me know the price and debiting me. Pishey Thomson, or his successor, I dare say has the book.

Let me say to you (of course in profound personal confidence) that the amendments made to the treaty by the Senate are a series of miserable little criticisms, doctrinal and verbal, utterly unworthy the dignity of the body and the gravity of the occasion. I can scarcely understand how, by the utmost excitement of filibustering declamation, such paltry picking should have occupied that great council for three months. In a little while the minority will have no resort but to laugh off their folly as well as they can. But two weeks left for the exchange of ratifications, and yet I have nothing on hand! Perhaps this beautiful exhibition of senatorial wisdom is to be rounded off by—but, *n'importe*—the thing was satisfactory all round, to both Governments and both peoples, conformed rigidly even as to phrases and terms to instructions, and was most flatteringly eulogised by Marcy “for *judgment and skill*” of negotiation, and eagerly sanctioned by President Pierce and Queen Victoria, and the Press on both sides: but it got into a dark hole and has been nibbled at by rats in search of food for faction. Unless we go on sinking deeper and deeper in the mire of filibusterism, and encouraging the revival of

the age of buccaneering (an ignominy not altogether impossible) the treaty, with all its faults, will, as John Q. said, "stand the test of time and talent." I especially think so, because, after being buffeted about by eminent men so long, its substance and spirit remain unchanged.

I am waiting to hear from Washington about two matters which must be definitively disposed of before the moment can arrive for adopting your hint as to the mode of acting on my own subject. I have no idea of a peevish and petty course: and the instant all misconception of motive can be avoided and all imputation of idle pique, it may be proper to act frankly and finally. There has been "negative pregnant" enough not to be mistaken, and I am quite ready for what was thought not unlikely when I started on the mission. I find no fault anywhere.

Palmerston's star is in the ascendant for another year at least. His party, and his ministerial associates particularly, are flushed with victorious exultation.

My affectionate regards to all.

Ever faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, April 7, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have not had time to prepare a despatch since Mr. Evans came an hour ago with the Central

American treaty, and your accompanying official letter of instruction. Yet I do not like to allow the Fulton to leave to-morrow morning without a word from me.

This matter will of course have my earliest attention; and, as I agree with you that the real substance of the arrangement remains unaffected by the amendments of the Senate, I have strong confidence that this government will, without much delay, pursue the wise example of the President. Varieties of opinion on an entanglement so complicated and so multifarious in its bearings cannot be avoided. It is the fruit of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

I have yet ten days before the period for an exchange of ratifications expires. All the necessary copies will be prepared this evening, and the matter fully submitted to Lord Clarendon to-morrow morning. The only expunging on which it is possible they may hesitate is that relating to the grants of land.

Since my last, the result of the election in Middlesex has given a still loftier tone of exultation to the Palmerstonians.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO LORD CLARENDON.

24 Portland Place, April 7, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,

I shall be able to send your lordship in the morning official copies of the treaty, with the Senate's amendments, and the President's ratification, and the letter of instruction to me from Mr. Cass on the subject.

In the meanwhile, I have thought it might be agreeable to you to have the draft I prepared for my own use, by which the *locus in quo* and bearing of each amendment might be seen at a glance.

The temper of the President is most admirable: his *acts* better-natured even than his words. Your lordship need not be reminded that ten days only are left of our prescribed time.

With assurances of the highest consideration,

Ever faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, April 10, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Although I have several irons in the fire, there is no business sufficiently ripe for a despatch.

I sent the whole Central American Record to the Foreign Office three days ago, and I saw Lord Clarendon yesterday. It is obvious that the amendments are

not thought materially to change the original design and text, except as to the Land Grants. Some soreness is felt at the abrupt treatment experienced by the second clause of the second separate article, though substantially and practically it reaches the same end. His lordship, however, had not consulted his colleagues, and did not intend expressing any opinion before doing so.

Some apprehension as to Parliament was intimated; and he reminded me that Mr. Gladstone had already attacked the ministry for aliening a colony without the consent of Parliament and without consideration. He said, too, among other things, that their treaty with Honduras remained yet unratified, and this broad handing over the Bay Islands bodily, contained in the amendment, to Honduras, though heretofore not asked by Honduras, might put her up to reject the treaty; a far-fetched supposition, to be sure, considering how immensely advantageous to Honduras that treaty was in respect to the railway. He wanted me to agree to extend the time for ratification: the cabinet was scattered: and its regular meeting would not take place before next Thursday, the 16th. I said that was entirely out of my power:—the expiration of the time was prescribed in the instrument ratified by the President, and nothing could now suspend or change it.

This conversation was casual, and apparently so unofficial that I am rather reluctant in repeating it.

It certainly, however, involved nothing definitive, and had only a tendency to disclose the personal opinions and thoughts of Lord Clarendon for the time being. They have left me under the impression that, notwithstanding the rough handling of the Senate, the treaty will finally be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged this day week or sooner.

The spring is hastening on, with rich green turf, glowing flowers, and expanding shrubbery. The parks and gardens and terraces of London are already beautiful, and give great comfort to those who are kept in town. *Absente Parliamento*, fashion has flown back into the country: to return about the 10th of May.

The new House of Commons, it is agreed on all sides, will have an unwieldy and unmanageable weight of Liberalism in it. If that weight can be solidified as a party, distinct and *prononcée*, and be once brought to move, it will rush into Reform in a manner to constitute an epoch in British history. The number of able, influential, and active men who think, talk, and act for sweeping political and social changes, is greater all over the country than in the United States is imagined.

Lord Clarendon told me that Lord Napier had written home in the highest delight with his new residence; that he was enthusiastic about everybody and everything; and that in such a spirit he could not fail to please.

My best respects to all around you, and in particular to Miss Cass.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, April 17, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Lord Clarendon's proposed *proviso* strikes me as much more open to the senatorial objections than was the clause as originally framed. It enlists the United States in favour of the ratification of the Honduras Convention, and so affects them with a full knowledge and approbation of all its terms: it connects the two treaties by a direct and indissoluble link.

Now, the sole and declared object of the original provision was to express the fact which removed the Bay Islands from the category of differences: that fact being one derived exclusively from her Majesty's Foreign Office, to wit, that they had ceased to be a British colony whose existence was irreconcilable with the purpose and in violation of the letter of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, but had become, under the admitted sovereignty of Honduras, a free territory. All that we had to look to was the extinction of the British pretension to sovereignty there, and the retrocession of the islands to Honduras in any form or shape that she, Honduras, might be freely

willing to accept them. We could, consistently with our public principles, interfere with the terms of a contract over which Honduras had absolute and rightful control, only by refusing to treat with England at all unless she announced the restoration of the islands to Honduras, and their voluntary acceptance as restored by that republic. As to the conditions upon which this bargain might be made agreeable to each other, either in reference to the actual inhabitants of the islands, or to the opening of an inter-oceanic railway, or any other measure of sovereign action, our intermeddling would be intrusive and absurd.

These were the views of my instructions. Hence the original provision in the second clause of the second Separate Article, with which Mr. Marcy expressed his approbation, as in fact he and General Pierce did with the whole *projet* when matured. But the Senate did not like the provision, and have substituted another more substantial and direct. And now comes Lord Clarendon with a *provisio* that means to assert, if it mean anything, that England had a mental reservation, not expressed in the original provision or in any part of the treaty, not to hold herself bound, unless the convention with Honduras was ratified, by her distinct, palpable, and positive engagement with the United States "to recognise and respect in all future time the independence and rights of the said free territory as part

of the Republic of Honduras." What had the United States to do with the *ratification* of their convention? That was their own look-out. If they entertained a doubt about it, why not offer to refer to it in some way? If they entertained, as probably they now entertain, no doubt at all, then it is not surprising that they considered the mere making of the convention as equivalent to its ratification, and so at once, and without deeming it at all expedient to communicate its contents, they agree to start from its making, and make the stipulations for all future time which I have recited. Wait for ratification, indeed! Look to Honduras for the efficacy of our treaty with Great Britain! I can understand why Lord Clarendon may shrink from doing what the Senate requires, but that he should hope to extenuate his shrinking by offering a *proviso* whose purport never would have been and never can be accepted is incomprehensible to me.

It is said to be useless to "cry over spilled milk." The philosophy is sound and practical. Nevertheless, in extreme anxiety to do nothing that may affect the public interests injuriously, I shall wait to hear from you on this finality to the year's efforts to adjust the Central American questions.

I have been obliged to write in great haste, and possibly with a looseness which will tax your indulgent kindness.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. KENNEDY.

London, April 21, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your parcel addressed to the Bishop of Oxford arrived safely; and of course you know that I shall take pleasure in conforming to your wishes about it.

I furnished his lordship in July last some American experience on the execution of capital sentences in private:—too late for use in the then existing Parliament. He has the reform much at heart: but all reforms here are slow in gathering confidence, and their advocates omit nothing to strengthen themselves against resistance, before making the final push. The United States is a quiver full of arrows for them: teeming with successful experiments in all practical improvements. It is really quite surprising, and certainly not disagreeable, to note the numberless ways in which the new world has turned teacher to the old.

I will not forget the Dean of St. Paul's.

The relations of the two countries are, I hope, independent of diplomatic formularies; as the Central American treaty returned here with only a single feather on its back that broke it down. The point of difference between the Senate and the ministry was whittled to the smallest end of nothing. It is possible, after swallowing a camel, to gasp at a gnat.

Pray present the best regards of Mrs. D. and myself to Mrs. K.

Very sincerely yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, April 24, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

You get by this steamer more of my writing than you will be able to tolerate.

Mr. E. was yesterday entrusted with a despatch which failed to go on Wednesday owing to an accident happening to the *Hermann*. He carries also back, in virgin purity, the unexchanged ratification of the Central American treaty. As bearer of a private letter from Mr. Buchanan to Lord Clarendon, he was most kindly and courteously treated by his lordship.

The *coup-de-grâce* given to the treaty has, as yet, been unnoticed in the newspapers. This I presume to arise from an uncertainty as to the most expedient course in reference to its effect on the new Parliament. Even the fact is unmentioned.

The foreign ministers at this Court are invited (or summoned) to be present in Manchester on the 5th of May next, at the opening of the Art Treasures Exhibition, destined, under the auspices of Prince Albert, to surpass everything of the sort ever undertaken!

Lord Lyndhurst sets us all a capital example. He

is eighty-five, and yet, as Mr. E. will tell you, at a crowded *soirée* two nights ago, he was the observed of all observers as well with ladies as gentlemen:—that too in the drawing-room of a Liberal, although he is an incurable Tory.

The Queen recovers more rapidly than would a farmer's wife. It is even surmised that her Majesty may be energetic enough to open Parliament in person this day week. She is fond of going through that ceremony, which she is said to perform with peculiar grace and emphasis.

The imbroglio between Austria and Sardinia promises to disturb the serenity of European politics. Count Cavour overwhelmed Count Buol with too much united force and quiet: the latter, of course, can't forgive. As to Switzerland and Prussia about Neuchâtel, the controversy is finally hushed up by France and England to the disadvantage of the Republic. She pays money, and permits a title derogatory to her territorial independence.

Lord Elgin is off for Hong-Kong. So are land and naval reinforcements, quite enough to plant a colony wherever they please among the distracted and decadent Chinese.

Cordially yrs.

TO COL. MURRAY.

London, April 28, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your packet for Mr. D. was received and forwarded to Mr. Mason in a despatch bag.

General Mercer is one of those clear thinkers who are not easily misled by mere appearance or sound. Our system constitutes, as the final negotiator of treaties, a popular body of sixty-two members! They amend such instruments with all the freedom they amend ordinary bills, engrafting each his peculiar notion, and indulging clap-trap and bunkum without stint. This is diplomacy run riot; and one must not be astonished at finding foreign powers occasionally restive under its operation. As early as 1794, our Senate struck whole clauses from Chief Justice Jay's treaty: in 1824, they so mutilated one made by Mr. Rush, that this government refused, just as they have now refused, to exchange the ratifications. Whoever was the Senator to offer the amendment to strike out and insert the twenty words about the Bay Islands, he alone has the glory of killing the treaty: as to all the other paltry picking, it was regarded with indifference:—*that* was esteemed an intolerable dictation, and, though with extreme reluctance, was visited with a tit for tat. Nothing was more perfectly innocuous than the clause as it originally stood; but its treatment has, I fear, given the adver-

sary a very dangerous weapon to fight with. Whence came that truly valiant and filibustering amendment? That, to us, is shrouded in senatorial secrecy; but *it is known here*, and will amaze us, they say, hereafter. An outside concoction?

The Cobden party committed a blunder, and dearly have they answered it: not in moving against the Chinese war, but in, immediately upon success *there*, consenting to assume a *defensive* attitude against the charge of coalition. They found out their mistake at too late a stage of the canvass.

After all, *blustering* goes a mighty distance in practical politics, and of that Lord Palmerston employs no small a load.

Very truly always yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, April 28, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

I send a cutting from the *Spectator* of the 25th inst. It is, as you know, the best *weekly* published in London. This is the first and only notice yet taken of the non-exchange of ratifications. I do not doubt that the intimation in the last line is, in a certain sense, well founded: and that the ministers prefer that the annunciation of their having rejected the Senate's amendment shall be made by them in reply to parliamentary "interpellations," accom-

panied by such justificatory and soothing remarks as they may think the occasion calls for.

The negotiation as to modifying the rules of maritime war has been formally suspended. I have reason to know that the answer to our proposal has been prepared in two forms, and was on the point of being laid before the cabinet and then sent to me. Both forms declined:—one assigning reasons at length, the other merely saying that just now the *projet* was not expedient in the judgment of her Majesty's government. My belief is that Lord Palmerston favours it, and that as soon as he can reinforce his strength in the House sufficiently to beat Lord John Russell's opposition to it down, he will make it a cabinet question. Mr. Lindsay, a most intelligent and re-elected member, and a devoted friend of Mr. Cobden as well as of free trade, said to me the other day that this was *the second* time on which, in reference to surrendering the right to use privateers, we had *retracted* at the very moment when they were persuading the government to close with the offer. "To me," he added, "it is perfectly incomprehensible how you can think of giving up privateers, when you contrast the size of our two navies." He is amazed that Mr. Marcy's proposal was not instantly closed with.

The Speaker of the House will be chosen the day after to-morrow. Then the swearing in will go on for a week. And on Thursday, the 8th May, Par-

liament will be opened by Commission: unless "the little lady" should, in the meantime, muster strength enough to go through a showy ceremony in which it is said she acts her part admirably, and of which she is therefore naturally very fond.

You notice the assiduous and unremitting courtship of France and Russia. It will yet end in something *éclatante*: especially if the British press perseveres in its recent labours to mortify and exasperate the self-esteem of the "degenerated race." The *Edinburgh Review* and the *Times* have forcible and humbling thrusts at the undeniable diminution of French numbers and "physique." The Grand Duke Constantine is now the Imperial guest at Paris; and his Majesty the Czar is said to contemplate a visit in the course of the summer.

Your refusal to join the hunt against the Chinese is not relished. It is characterized as a cold, selfish, and isolating policy:—not actually disapproved, but extremely disliked. If they can't get your representative out there to combine with them, they will probably try their best to make his time unpleasant: if he side with them in the remotest manner, that will be enough to produce upon "the ignorant Chinese" all the "moral effect" they desire.

With cordial respects yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, May 8, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The oracular speech of her Majesty, delivered yesterday, through the Lord Chancellor and his fellow-commissioners, to Parliament, was sent to me from the Foreign Office late last night. I enclose it. You will note the 5th paragraph as amazingly precise, explanatory, and clear!

Observe also, that though Reform be allowed a place, it is only *Law* reform. *Expressio unius*, etc. For this session, then, the ministry are for that *only*. It is certainly important; but a great deal more is expected, and the opposition will probably hurry to get in advance. Opinion is becoming every day bolder. At large public meetings, one hears not unfrequently "No State Church," "No legislative Bishops," "No hereditary law-makers," "No property franchise," etc.

I cannot resist the impression that this government contemplate taking possession of a large portion of the southern territory of China. An adequate military force will soon be there, both French and English; and our squadron will find it hard work to abstain from the general foray. If you have Mr. Reed still with you, tell him there is a capital article on the Chinese Question in the last, or April number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO LADY MORGAN.

London, May 9, 1857.

MY DEAR LADY MORGAN,

It was my intention to seize the pleasure which your remark to Mrs. D. held out, although somewhat apprehensive of being an intruder. Your kind "*remind*" of this morning gives to the lunch on Monday an attraction not to be resisted, and as my countrymen say when wishing to make an impressive appointment, "You'll find me *thar*."

Always faithfully, your Ladyship's
Most obedient servant.

TO MR. PISHEY THOMSON.

London, May 9, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Pray accept my very cordial thanks for your letter of the 2nd instant. It would have been replied to at once, but that I was preparing for an absence of several days in Manchester.

I have been much interested in your account of the Memorial proposed to be erected to the Rev. John Cotton in the Chapel connected with the Church of St. Botolph in Boston, Lincolnshire; and I shall feel it a high privilege to attend at the contemplated ceremony in grateful remembrance of that eminent clergyman. Whether I shall be able, at the time that may be fixed upon for the inauguration, to quit

London, I cannot at present say; but, as soon as apprised of the day's being finally designated (which I understood the Rev. G. B. Blenkin to say might be at the close of July next), I will promptly determine that point and let you know. This reticence is in a measure dictated by my knowing that you desire to give to the solemnity a partly international aspect, which I am not quite certain that three months hence it will be in my power to aid you in doing.

Mr. Ingram was kind enough to offer to send me an account of your city, and I frankly accepted his offer, supposing that it would be in the shape of an ordinary pamphlet or guide-book. He has, however, sent me your really magnificent and costly folio of "The History and Antiquities of Boston, etc." The work is truly beautiful; but is it not too valuable for me to retain?

I remember you at Washington with much pleasure, and regret to hear that your health is bad. Should you visit London while I am here, I beg that I may have an opportunity to renew our acquaintance.

Very faithfully and sincerely yrs.

TO MR. MARKOE.

London, May 14, 1857.

MY DEAR MR. MARKOE,

A thousand thanks for "The Commercial Relations," one half at least of which I beg you to

present to Mr. Flagg. The volume graces the library of the Statistical Society, and lies ready to be devoured on my table.

As many acknowledgments for your successful intercession with Secretary Floyd about young Bamping.

Indeed, I am very much in your debt for these and similar acts of assistance. So, to wipe off a score or two, let me amuse you with a reference to a recent symposium.

On Monday last, *Lady Morgan* (Sydney Owenson, the Wild Irish Girl, *Ida of Athens*, etc.) summoned me to meet a friend of hers *at lunch*. I went at half-past two. Her house is a small curiosity shop, crowded with interesting relics. She has Voltaire's writing chair, and a sketch of his study. The walls are literally concealed by likenesses and autographs. Everything, like herself, is "*en petit*" and antique, except the music she never fails to enlist. She is so short that when sitting her feet can't reach the floor. Her vivacity is boundless, and her intellectual attractions recognized, as you will see, by the first minds of the age. She dresses as you must imagine a discreet sylph would dress, that is, in a mass of light, many-coloured gossamery stuff, with ribbons flying in all directions, and a fanciful coquettish cap. Well! she rouges highly, and, though turned of eighty, might under the magnetic mask of wit, were her sight and hearing not imperfect, pass for some-

thing over fifty. She placed me on her right at her little round table, and inquired in a whisper if I was aware of the celebrities present. "They were a cluster of brilliants, and I knew them all." Here you have them. Close on my right sat *Macaulay*, the fullest and fastest man in conversation I ever met with: his only defect an uncontrollable effort, arising from excessive self-esteem, to monopolize the talk. On the left of Lady Morgan was Lord *Carlisle*, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Morpeth). Then came *Hallam* (Middle Ages), a most interesting person in appearance and manners, suffering to such an extent from disease as to be unable to walk without help, and perhaps evincing a partial loss of mental energy. There too was that most excellent historian of Greece, *Grote*, whom I like and respect the more every time I see him. Near him and opposite the hostess twinkled away the pink eyes of Albino *Lowe*, the only highly gifted individual of that species perhaps in being: and we rounded off with *Charles Villiers*, a true, talented, and uncompromising liberal, I had almost said democrat, albeit the brother of Clarendon: *Monckton Milnes*, a poet, politician, parliamentary speaker, and ready converser: and, though last far from least, *Lady Combermere*.

Now I won't indulge in repeating the numberless admirable things said at this cosy lunch, during about an hour and a half. The eagerness to talk far

outstripped the eagerness to eat. At one time, I believe every man was leaning forward over the table and giving to the whole unlistening company his particular idea. The bursts of merriment were unceasing. If I were a bookmaking tourist, I am certain that I could expand the intellectual gold at this lunch through an octavo of leaves. Review the names, and realize its character.

I think it very probable that you would prefer a description of some geological cabinet, but I have no relish for that sort of thing. Sir Roderick Murchison now and then walks me through his rich collections of fragments of ores, spars, rocks, etc., and I take it for granted that they are all very curious, very valuable, and very instructive: but, "*chacun à son goût*," and mine never ran in that direction, farther than to admire your drawers full of what I would scarcely be willing to allow house-room.

Did you get Guizot's study of Peel? That and Dr. Kane's book have aroused more *furors* among the ordinary run of readers here than any other new publications. Lever has just launched a new novel, "The Fortunes of Glencore," which can be read at a single sitting, though in three volumes, and is really full of strong pictures and capital notions of life.

I have a mind to rush you into the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, whose opening I felt it a sort of official duty to attend. But the labour would

be intolerable. You must wait until another appropriate fit comes over me.

We are all well. Your notion of Florence is too wise to last. It would benefit you, your wife, and the whole family: *therefore*, I take it for granted you have long since given it up.

My best love to every one at home.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, May 15, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The officers of the Niagara have crowded my despatch bag with letters, official and private. You will probably, therefore, have full accounts of her performance in crossing the Atlantic. Their representations are glowing in her favour. She was able to accomplish two-thirds of her voyage in six days: subsequently she took it leisurely, and reached Gravesend on the eighteenth after leaving the Narrows.

I am afraid matters are not as advanced on this side as they seem to have been thought by Mr. Toucey. There is a difficulty, owing to her draft of water and certain unfinished dredging, in her taking the place in the Thames originally assigned, and, indeed, it was contemplated, a few hours before she entered the Downs, to have signalled and sent her

to Liverpool. I cannot learn that the Cable is near ready: and when it shall be, the calculation seems to be that it cannot be stowed on board the ship at a rate more rapid than twenty miles of its length per day; so that full two months will be consumed in shipping alone the 1200 miles. Should she begin to receive her cargo, which is a bold hope, by the 1st of June, she cannot finish loading before the 1st of August, even supposing no accident or delay: and thus the most advantageous season for laying the wires must be lost. It would, I think, be imprudent to run the risks of September or October. On the whole, unless Captain Hudson, or Professor Morse, apply the screw effectually to the operatives here, and push them to a speed beyond all their habits, the grand consummation will be delayed till next summer. As in military, so in mechanical, exploits England always lags until the second or third campaign. The thing will be achieved, no doubt: but not by any means so promptly or punctually as American go-a-headness would exact.

Queen Victoria, in spite of the prevailing popular prejudice, has invited the Russian Grand Duke Constantine to pay her a visit. Of course such a summons brings him shortly to Osborne: although it is gossiped as an unprecedented barbarism that, some years ago, when the present Emperor Alexander was here and at a ball, on being apprised by the Master of Ceremonies that her Majesty required him

as a partner in the next quadrille, he very coolly and imperturbably answered that he was engaged, and declined the honour! Constantine is said to be fatally bent on the mischief of breaking asunder the Anglo-Gallican alliance. Success to the Imperial politician!

You must not let me worry you unreasonably with these letters. My aim is to keep you *au fait* to current yet unofficial topics in this maelstrom of intelligence and bustle. Stop me unhesitatingly as soon as you tire.

Very faithfully yrs.

P.S.—Mr. Marcy made some arrangement with the captains of the Cunarders, by which our despatch bags were confided exclusively to their control and care. I hate suspicion, and the plan may in the long run work well; but when I look at your violated letter about New Granada, which came by the Arabia, and compare its contents with the speech of Lord Palmerston on the 15th inst., I feel as if I could not explain, without offence to some one, so singular a coincidence. If our negotiations become delicate, it would be well not to flinch from employing special messengers. Economy is an excellent aim, but it is possible to overshoot it.

G. M. D.

TO MR. CASS.

London, May 28, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Mr. William Brown, of Liverpool, addressed to me the enclosed letter somewhat too late to be sent in the last despatch bag. He is so worthy of every consideration and respect that I am sure you will not object to hear his appeal for aid as to the survey of the railway route in Honduras, although it be informally made and may not obtain the least acquiescence.

I suppose we cannot have too many lines of Isthmian transit. Until some thirty years hence, when a direct communication with the shores of the Pacific shall run upon the surface of our own soil, it will not be wise to rely on a single road at Panama, or San Juan, or Tehuantepec. We cannot perhaps have too many strings to our bow. Still, the extent to which we will co-operate with others, either governments or companies, in projects for opening these passages, deserves careful consideration. I think it quite obvious that the commercial interest of England is contemplating an extensive settlement on the cotton-yielding lands of Southern China, and looks to hold direct and rapid intercourse across the Isthmus. As peaceable competitors, our merchants, with the advantage of location, would distance them in this trade, as they are fast distancing them every-

where: yet it might not be prudent to facilitate their selling cheap China cotton to the manufacturers of Manchester.

Your private letter of the 5th instant reached me but two days ago. This slow progress may have an accidental cause; but my despatches from the United States have recently so regularly been violated on their way, that I am really growing suspicious. I mentioned to you on a former occasion that your despatch about New Granada had been torn open; and by the very next bag, a large communication, with the seal of the department, had undergone the same treatment. The apprehensions created by such a state of things destroy the unreserved character of correspondence. There is a mischievous Paul Pry somewhere between this and Washington.

Thus far the votes in Parliament indicate, to a casual observer, a large and firm Palmerstonian majority. Knowing ones, however, say significantly "wait a little:" and they mean by a *little* a whole year at least. By that time, the strong infusion of Reform in the new House will have fermented, found its way to the top, and be prepared and able to shake the smooth surface of the ministerial cauldron. It is astonishing how patiently they bide their time. The power to "wait" is a great one.

Of course quidnuncs affect great anxiety as to the relations between the two countries. The rejection

of the treaty, which they now realize; and the spirited articles in our newspapers just received, have created a lively stir. The Press here still holds back; an abstinence which may be ascribed to a dread of provoking the Premier to exhibit his, at this moment, irresistible power in the Commons, and so committing the country to an extravagance which in a twelvemonth he will find impossible.

The Russian minister seems pleased with his news from Washington, and prophesies the abrogation by Congress of the treaty of 1850, a proceeding quite unequivocally represented to Lord Clarendon when I read to him Mr. Marcy's No. 13, of 24th May, 1856, where it is stated as a resort to which we might be ultimately driven.

The difficulties about the Niagara rather increase than lessen. The officers, however, behave exceedingly well under the circumstances. They still hope not to lose the summer.

Very faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, June 5, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Whitsuntide Holidays dispersed the Members of Parliament throughout the country: and, under the influence of animal magnetism perhaps, I too went out of town for several days. It is impossible to imagine anything more beautiful or

more perfect in all its details, *intra et extra mœnia*, than the rural life of a man of fortune in England. When the clear and comfortable weather of early June is superadded, a miserable devil emerging from the smoke, dust, fog, and odour of London, finds himself in Elysium among the hills of Hampshire. I came back yesterday.

Our good countrymen, in heavy battalions, are winding their way across the island, to spread themselves all over Europe and part of Asia. I found my table covered with their cards and introductorys, and they are most cordially welcome. There are among them Professors, Chancellors, Bishops and Clergymen *sans nombre*.

The Niagara goes to Portsmouth to-day, to be so altered, as I understand, as may fit her for receiving the submarine cable. She will be put in one of the Royal Docks for the purpose. I am asked to give my official assent to this proceeding: but, although willing to aid the great object in every possible way, I do not feel empowered, and must leave the matter in the sound discretion of Captain Hudson. The Susquehanna also is in the Thames. Captain Sands and his first lieutenant were with me yesterday. You will have noticed that, as a little lucky accident would have it, they were first in saluting the Russian Grand Duke Constantine as he entered the British waters on board of a royal yacht from France, on his way to the Queen at Osborne. You would be amused

to see how this casual and light incident is remarked upon.

The French elections come off on the 20th instant, and inspire some interest: though why, it is difficult to say. Great care has been officially and openly taken to secure to the Imperial government an immense majority both of representatives and votes. The suffrages are expected to exceed nine millions.

I enclose some papers which the Greek minister has put into my hands as explanatory of his great desire that something may be done in respect to the matter I have heretofore written about. He says that Mr. — is really not entitled to act as consular representative, and that his informal authorization from Mr. Diomatari has expired many years ago; that as a missionary he is constantly provoking the public mind by *proselyting*—a course prohibited by the Constitution of Greece. Can you empower me to say a word to him? or is it necessary that the subject should assume greater formality?

I have nothing worthy of a regular despatch, and cannot have the means of enlivening you until some movement in the political atmosphere disturbs the existing serenity and dulness.

It is supposed that Parliament, which reassembled last evening, may continue in session till August, and yet their proceedings be quite devoid of general interest.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. HUTCHINSON.

London, June 12, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have yours of the 26th of May, covering the letter from the Library Company to Mr. Woodcroft, and have immediately forwarded the latter. It gives me great pleasure to perceive that the Directors justly appreciate the value of the Patent Publications, and have complied with the engagement as to binding them.

I have come across, in the possession of a fashionable widow, a Frenchwoman who married an Englishman, a painting which I wished were in one of the rooms of the Library. It is an admirable portrait of Franklin, when our minister in Paris, by a great contemporary artist ranking now as one of the masters, *Greuze*. He is taken in his morning wrapper of green velvet with fur collar. The widow has repeatedly and significantly called my attention to it as an object of historical art which ought to be in America. But I remain stupid to the hint, as it would be beyond my dilettanti zeal to encourage republicans to give a thousand guineas for a *Greuze*.

When you tell me that beef in the Philadelphia market is from 20 to 25 cents a pound, you describe a condition worse even than the one existing in this overcrowded and extravagant capital of carnivorous gourmands. You can get the choice pieces, from the

Butchers' stalls here, the tender loin at nine pence the pound, the ribs at eight pence halfpenny. Our victuallers are making too high a profit on their business; but we are fond of good eating and seem willing to pay for it at any exalted rate. Some scheme should be adopted, of setting off one meat against another; of bringing beef down to reason by eating mutton alone for awhile, or by resorting to fish and fowl. As long as everybody covets beef, and permits the audacious butcher to run the price up-hill, we shall have shillings instead of sixpences for mouthfuls.

Politics are just now serene and quiet. Louis Napoleon waves a more powerful wand over all Europe than his uncle did, and has a better right than Nicholas to announce that Order reigns, not merely in Warsaw, but throughout the monarchies. Austria has an aspect of liberalism: Prussia lets go of Neufchâtel:—Russia, France, and England (perhaps the U.S. too?) are creeping silently after the eggs of the Shanghais: and the only ripple to be discerned on the surface is in a pretty little flare-up against priestly encroachment and practices in the domestic legislation of diminutive Belgium. Can't we break the universal peace, by a row on the Isthmus? Why not monopolise all the transits?

The weather has been warm, for a day at a time; but the general temperature is yet too cool to admit of the slightest diminution of woollens. I suppose

you are sweltering under a fierce sun, or rushing to the sea-shore. By-the-by, be good enough not again to be tempted to try the treacherous waves of inland waters.

We are all in good health, thank Heaven, and hope to remain so, even in spite of the incessant entertainments and soirées to which we are obliged to go. Like good-natured eels, we are growing callous to this sort of martyrdom. The "season," however, will not last beyond the middle of July.

Present us all to your sons and daughters most affectionately.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, June 12, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

There is quite an uncommon serenity just now in the political heavens. Were it not for the far-off quarrel with China, the anti-priest excitement in Belgium, and the French elections on the 21st (all rather tame subjects) the quidnuncs would be utterly dumb. Parliament is coolly discussing domestic topics, the camp at Aldershot, the law of divorce, penalties on fraudulent trustees, improvement of parks, reformatories, etc., etc. The ministry appear wonderfully at ease, and my Lord Palmerston could yesterday mount a fine spirited horse at

Windsor, ride to Ascot, in the Queen's train, stay to the races, and ride back again, without feeling the weight of duties or years.

Opposite to all this, I fear, from the statements in the newspapers just received, that the condition of things with you is much disturbed. I hope a great deal from Mr. Walker's ability and manliness in Kansas, from Harney's inflexible firmness in Utah, and from the force of the Supreme law in Ohio. In Granada, you will probably find little further difficulty, unless indeed the incredible story be true that England has got another Ruatan on the Pacific side of the transit at Panama. These really grave subjects, superadded to the oppressions, complications, and bitternesses, springing almost necessarily out of your official patronage, must tax your patience and philosophy not a little. God grant you a safe deliverance!

Please let Mr. Toucey know that Captain Hudson, having apprised me of his intention so to change the Niagara as to fit her for the reception of the submarine telegraphic cable, at the expense of the company and without injury to the ship, I applied, at his request, to Sir Charles Wood for an order that the work might be done expeditiously, safely, and well by the operatives in the public employ at Portsmouth. Sir Charles telegraphed Admiral Seymour immediately. The alterations will probably be completed in two weeks. Everybody appears now

sanguine that the cable will be on the bottom of the Atlantic in the course of the summer:—let us hope, with the two ends tight to Newfoundland and Ireland respectively.

The British Museum has recently had its attractions increased by the noblest room for a library now existing. It is an immense circle lighted from a lofty and beautiful dome. Our congressional apartment devoted to the same use is quite eclipsed by it.

You see how dull I am forced to be.

With my best regards to Miss Cass,

I am faithfully yrs.

TO DR. SHAW.

London, June 27, 1857.

MY DEAR DR. SHAW,

Pray excuse my delay in answering your note of the 24th instant; it has been owing to absence from London and other causes.

The last session of Congress was the short one, that is, from December to March 4th. Still, the general subject to which you refer was not entirely neglected. Two handsome and adequate appropriations of \$6760 and \$25,000 were made: the *first*, "for preparing for publication the surveys of the late expedition to the North Pacific Ocean and Behring's Straits, and for finishing the publication of the charts made by the late expedition for the exploration and survey

of the River La Plata and tributaries;" and the second, "to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to cause to be extended and completed the exploration of the Parana and the tributaries of the Paraguay River."

This, to be sure, is not much; but it may help you out of a tight place.

I received about two months ago a ponderous quarto from the United States Coast Survey Department; the Superintendent's Report of the proceedings during the year 1855. It is an exceedingly elaborate and interesting *exposé*, aided by many admirable charts. Have you got it? My only copy was given to Dr. Whewell of Cambridge, Master of Trinity.

Always most respectfully and truly yrs.

TO MR. THAYER.

London, July 3, 1857.

MY DEAR THAYER,

You will see by the enclosed how very much your letter of the 10th June has gratified the Lord Chief Justice as well as myself.

By-the-by, talking of judges, there is hanging in the gallery of the British Exhibition this year, a very large-sized and admirably painted portrait of Judge King. He is in full Turkish or Egyptian costume, with magnificent turban, sabre, shawls, and

withal a fine flowing white beard reposing on his breast. The likeness is speaking; and he ought never to appear in any other dress. It was sent over from Paris, where he now is, and where it was painted by Kellogg.

Love to all—ever yrs.

TO JUDGE KANE.

London, July 6, 1857.

MY DEAR JUDGE KANE,

The busts have only just reached me, and, in honest truth, our recollections are too vivid to allow us to like them. The artist has fallen short of justice to his subject. He has failed to delineate, as he might, the traits of thought, enterprise, vivacity, courage, and endurance: these constituted the heroic original.* For my own part, too, I miss the beard which was the necessary consequence and companion of his greatest exploits. Still, we unite in thanking you warmly for the present.

I sent the copy intended for the Royal Geographical Society to Sir Roderick Murchison. If his acknowledgment come soon enough, it will accompany this.

With the best regards of all mine to all yours,

Faithfully yrs.

* Dr. E. K. Kane.

TO MR. CASS.

London, July 17, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Observing in the newspapers that you have returned from your northern journey, I venture upon resuming my private missives.

Recent events have disturbed the political serenity on which I commented a month ago. The rebellion in India, the elections in France, the explosion and failure of the Mazzini scheme at Genoa, and renewed disturbances in Spain, are all very interesting in their details and probable consequences.

A grand drama seems preparing from one end to the other of Hindostan. Every effort is made to conceal or disguise the fundamental cause of the disaffection. May they not be playing over again the game of lordly redcoats and paltry provincials? The outbreak at Meerut has been expected somewhere by intelligent observers, for several years back. The Home government imprudently repelled warning and advice. The larded cartridge was merely the last feather on the camel's back. Proofs of a vast preconcert, requiring much time to mature, are manifest. The elevation of a King at Delhi is a measure of permanent bearing. The simultaneous mutinies of widely separated regiments of sepoys cannot be misunderstood.

Passion is in the ascendant here. Perhaps this is

inevitable while their relatives and friends are being butchered and worse than butchered by the revolted slaves. Too much force cannot be sent out to execute a prompt vengeance. No money to be stinted. No mercy to be shown. The "fanatic natives" are destined to a worse fate, by fire and sword, than our blacks undergo after insurrection. There are represented to be about seventy thousand British, of all descriptions, military, civil, and mercantile, in India; and they are maintaining the sway of this island over a hundred and seventy millions! The reinforcements in motion are said to be about twenty-five thousand men: among which are counted the troops going out to China, but which the Governor-General, Canning, has intercepted and ordered to Calcutta.

It would seem that Cavaignac and Carnot have decided on taking the oath of allegiance to the Imperial dynasty. Their constituents insist that it is a condition prescribed by irresistible force, and if they don't take it they abandon their country to her fate.

I hope you benefited by your absence for a time from the turmoil of Washington.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, July 19, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

There is a carelessly-worded sentence in one of my despatches (No. 61, 10th July, 1857), which, if I had the power, I would like to correct. Fortunately it is of no importance, being a bald expression of opinion: but then it would seem to assert a sentiment of my own, which was not intended. It relates to Cavaignac and Carnot taking the oath of fealty, and begins, "They should not hesitate, for what is the obligation of an oath enforced by five hundred thousand bayonets?" Had I merely used the words "*It is urged that they should not,*" then my exact aim would have been reached. There is enough strength in the view to puzzle casuists; but I am not prepared to adopt it, though powerfully enforced. Pray don't suppose me willing to treat official swearing lightly for any purpose.

The death of Mr. Marcy was announced to us by the steamer which arrived yesterday. The "inevitable hour" came to him in an enviable manner. No sickness, no debility, no pain, no disquietude. I presume it was a sudden stoppage of the heart's action. Being at the Premier's drawing-room last night, I observed that it awakened about as much interest as would the decease of any sepoy in India.

A fierce struggle getting up between the two

Houses of Parliament on the Jew question. Lord John Russell moved a new bill, giving to a former act authorizing oaths to be administered to witnesses in the manner binding on their consciences, an extension to legislative oaths; and if the Lords throw *this* out, he avows his readiness to call Baron Rothschild into the Commons, and to have him take his seat, omitting the clause "*on the true faith of a Christian.*" Such a course, if the Peers be firm, must bring on a most unseemly collision. Lord Chief Justice Campbell has frankly *prejudged* it as a violation of positive law. The truth is, the movement of Lord John is as clearly revolutionary as was the effort of the black republicans to compel or nullify the Senate on the Kansas question. Mr. Roebuck and many of the newspapers denounce the Lords with all the bitterness and contempt used by the old Jacobins of France against the nobles. If we examine symptoms closely I think we should come to a conclusion that the Upper House is fast losing its prestige, and that its end may be looked for as soon as some five or six of its veteran sages are removed (Lyndhurst, Brougham, St. Leonards, Lansdowne, Aberdeen). I doubt whether our Senate has ever had so little hold upon popular respect. Still, a fondness for aristocracy and a subserviency to wealth leaven the whole lump of British society, and an attempt to extinguish or curtail the legislative power of the Peers is always in danger of re-

action. The Crown too shields them by its popularity. If George IV. were on the throne, both would be in imminent danger.

We have here a number of distinguished Americans: among them, Ticknor, Sparks, and Sumner. The last is quite a favourite as the suffering champion of Abolition. Ticknor and Sparks have no politics, and are delightful. Doctors Mütter and Gibson of Philadelphia are also in London, the former very ill of the gout. A rally of American sojourners takes place on the 21st instant, the day after to-morrow, at Boston in Lincolnshire, to "assist" at the inauguration of a Chapel in honour of the Pilgrim father, John Cotton. I am bound to be there.

We cannot have farther news from India before the latter part of this week.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MRS. GALES.

London, July 20, 1857.

MY DEAR MRS. GALES,

It is extremely provoking to be obliged in frankness to confess the entire failure of my efforts to carry out your suggestion as respects Miss Juliana May.

I reserved an answer to your letter in the hope that, before the season finally closed, something

might enable me to write more agreeable prospects ; but the concerts and parties at the Palace are now over.

I cannot venture to say why the royal attention was not attracted to Miss May. Her Majesty and the Prince Consort justly take pride in selecting the most accomplished and skilful musicians and songsters for their concerts ; and Miss May, under her engagement with Mr. Lumley, had publicly, though under some disadvantages, exhibited her fine vocal powers. The number of great "*cantatrices*" from which to select, has no doubt embarrassed choice : and there are obviously some personal friends, like Novello and Balfe, with whose uniform preference no competitor could hope for success.

I cannot say (for honestly I do not believe) that any prejudice exists against a voice simply because it is American. High art is too much cultivated, too ardently pursued, too triumphantly fashionable for that, nothing so cosmopolitan ; but we have yet to achieve for our country the reputation of a land of song ; and until that be achieved, and made undeniable, we must not wonder if even the excellence we know we possess fails to be sought for.

Had I been able to accomplish your wish, my being accessory to the happiness of Mrs. May and her daughter would have given me unalloyed pleasure ; and certainly no one would be more eager than myself to contribute in any degree to your

gratification, or to that of Mr. Gales, whom I can never regard in any other light than as an old friend of my father's, and I hope of mine.

Always most faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, July 24, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

It has struck me to be expedient to send you the accompanying copies of *private* letters on the subject of handsomely inaugurating the wire which is to run under the Atlantic from Valentia to St. John's.

I hope the President will approve my giving the note of preparation to Lord Clarendon. It was marked "private" because there is not absolute certainty that the enterprise may not be balked by one of the thousand accidents that are possible, and so the two governments be made to appear too confident.

One can scarcely yet credit the realisation of this most vast, yet most delicate, conquest of science and machinery. The first spark that goes from Buckingham Palace to the White House will, like mercy, be twice blessed, securing immortality at once to giver and receiver, in more durable records than those of politics.

Mr. Huffnagle, our consul-general for British India,

is now here. Nothing as yet from that region to allay the general anxiety. There seems, indeed, a prevailing impression that the mutineers at Delhi are numerous, strong in arms and ammunition, and skilful as soldiers: so that the siege may be a protracted one and encourage disaffection elsewhere. The rumour of defection in the army at Bombay does not seem to be well founded.

The course of the three leading republicans lately elected in Paris, Cavaignac, Carnot, and Godchoux, as to the oath of fealty, seems still undecided. The constituencies press the argument I have heretofore stated, and the general impression is that it will prevail.

The facilities and comforts of locomotion by railways are capital aids to the harmony and distinctive power of crowned heads. Continental royalty has fairly overrun England lately. Whether they come like shadows and so depart, can only be guessed. We have had from Austria, the Grand Duke Maximilian; from Prussia, Prince William; from Spain, the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier; from Belgium, nearly the whole reigning family; from France, Prince Napoleon; from Holland, the Queen of the Netherlands (the Duchess of *Van Buren*); and Louis Napoleon promises a quiet call at Osborne with his Empress in the course of a fortnight! *Jam satis terris nivis atque diræ grandinis!* When curiosity is once gratified, these personages are rather

inconvenient to the ⁴⁴corps diplomatique, at least to our portion of it. "To meet her Majesty," or "to be presented to H. R. H.;" *hic labor, hoc opus est!*

The toast given at the banquet in Boston to the President of the United States was received with a cheering altogether vehement and remarkable, by a company of at least three hundred. It was prefaced by an elaborately prepared and really forcible speech from the historian of Boston (whose work, by-the-by, is a magnificent folio volume, got up with a superabundance of elegance in engravings, type, paper, and binding), Mr. Pishey Thomson, whom we all knew as an admirable bookseller for so many years on Pennsylvania Avenue. The learned and eloquent Bishop of Lincoln was there, and gave us a speech. So was our Bishop Smith of Kentucky, who did ditto. So also, Erskine, Dean of Ripon, son of the old first Lord. And so, too, a succession of Members of Parliament. The Mayor presided. Our flag waved all day upon the topmost turret of the beautiful tower of St. Botolph, which is three hundred feet high.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, July 28, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is here next to impossible to procure authentic information of what is meditated at Madrid

respecting Mexico. Don Bravo left London some months ago to meet the Cortes, and Comyn, the Chargé, is either unable or unwilling to talk on matters of public interest. The newspaper correspondents only invent and mislead. It is now alleged that the mediation of England and France has been accepted. It is, I think, rather to be suspected that the Spanish movement was from the first unreal, and meant more to cover Cuba from apprehended filibustering than to invade Mexico. At all events, just now the condition of Spain is too much disturbed and uncertain for an important military expedition to the other side of the Atlantic, which might furnish us a plausible ground of action. Spain will be very shy of doing what might possibly swell to overflowing the popular current in the United States. The mediation has, in all likelihood, been part of the original plan, and invited by her.

A moderated tone on the subject of Slavery is undoubtedly observable even in Parliament. How explainable? 1. The pressure of the truth as to their West Indies. 2. The pressure of the rebellion in Bengal. 3. The pressure from the China fight. 4. The shake recently given to the Napoleonic throne. 5. The annexation of Perim, protested against by Turkey under impulse of France:—and with all these, 6. The hourly increasing conviction that there is no safety for the ascendancy of the Liberal Party except in honest friendship with the

United States. It may be that this abatement in the crusading spirit is preparatory to aiding us to acquire Cuba: for as they despair of stopping the trade from Africa, they may see reason to prefer the institution as it exists with us to the one on the Island.

The French ambassador urged me by letter, three or four days ago, to obtain for an Imperial hydrographic engineer, the privilege of accompanying Captain Hudson in the Niagara, during the voyage for laying the sub-Atlantic cable. The ship was on the eve of departure, and I had no time to correspond with her officers. I sent his Excellency a short note addressed to Captain Hudson, requesting, if no orders or rules were in the way, that he would invite and receive the engineer, a Mr. Delamarche, on board the frigate. I hope the President will approve what it was impossible to avoid or evade without extreme discourtesy. The correspondence on the subject I have thought it proper to send to Mr. Toucey.

You will see by the newspapers that the Jews' Oaths question has taken a more decided phase than ever. Mr. Horsman, an able and influential liberal, has twitted the Premier, in language to which that functionary is not accustomed, on his duties as the party leader: intimating that the Earl of Harrowby, Lord Privy Seal, cannot be permitted, while a member of the cabinet, to withhold his vote in the House of Lords from the bill, and that the whole united and active power of the ministry must be given to

the measure, on penalty of Whig denunciation and disorganization.

Still no fresh news from India, though expected every hour. In the House of Commons last night Mr. Disraeli made a very tedious and elaborate speech on the causes of the disaffection and the proper course of government now that it had exploded. A worse picture of political administration could not easily be painted; far exceeding, especially in its deep shades of usurpation and confiscation, the recapitulated grievances in our Declaration of 1776. It fell, however, very flat on the ear, though I was a patient listener during the whole of it, from five to eight o'clock. Lord John Russell, who just now resembles an inexperienced swimmer trying to buoy himself with awkwardly entangled bladders, gave Mr. Disraeli's motion a patriotic direction.

I was earnestly assured, during the concert at Apsley House last night, by Lord Stanley, whom I think better informed as to the condition of the British colonies than any other man in England, that the whole affair was a mere military *émeute*, and would certainly be at once repressed. And yet an Indian Commissary-General, Col. R., very lately returned home, is anxiously in doubt as to the result, looking to the fall of Delhi before the besiegers as indispensable to the safety of the whole against the pervading discontent. One thing is quite certain:—, that this country will concentrate all its energies

against the insurrection, first to put it down, second to revenge its cruelties, and third to reform its causes.

Mr. Huffnagle, our consul-general in the East, is returning home from Calcutta, wholly unable to meet the expenses of his post by his salary. I have long known him, and believe him, as a public agent, to be eminently reliable for intelligence and integrity. At this interesting moment of Chinese and Indian perturbation, he will have a fund of valuable practical knowledge to lay before you. That region of the earth is looming up into so much importance that I should think it wise, rather than lose the public benefit of his skill and experience, if he were permitted his salary unencumbered by his actual expenses.

Those fierce and endless riots in New York make very disagreeable echoes in the ears of Americans abroad. We cannot vindicate or excuse them. I really hope they will soon die out.

My latest official Register is that of 1855; and I often want the Army and Navy Registers for the current year.

Always faithfully yrs. —

P.S. — Your old assailant, Brougham, in his eightieth year, was last night busy among groups of beauties, chatting and laughing as a boy long after midnight!

TO MR. J. M. M.

London, July 28, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Although extremely indignant, I was not sorry to see the venom spit at you by the Yankee parson. I was sure of the rebound; and it has come in the best possible way and to the greatest possible effect:—subverting not so much the individual (for really he could not be harmed) as the cause with which he is identified.

You notice the progress of things here? China, India, Paris, Italy, Spain, Parliament? I thought the world going to sleep; when it suddenly, like a drowsy lion, stood up and shook itself all over. I am afraid, however, that the monster won't keep on his legs, but will sink into deeper slumber than ever.

Two or three things are worth noticing.

There's the wonderful readiness of the oldest and ablest men to mingle, night after night, and all night, in the light gaieties of life. Lyndhurst at 85, Brougham at 80, Lansdowne at 77, St. Leonards at 76, Palmerston at 73, Campbell at 78, Aberdeen at 73, Combermere at 77, Wensleydale, Baron Parke, at 75, etc., may be found wherever amusement, though it be in the form of mere show, is to be had. So with the very ancientest of ladies. The effect on society generally is salutary and obvious. To be sure, the very young are rather cowed.

There's also the busy and widespread eagerness to revive church ornamentation. I have recently visited a number of Cathedrals and Parish Churches, and, being a tolerably good Episcopalian, have trembled to notice the immense backsliding to Romanism in the crosses, altars, painted windows, symbols, mottoes, sedilias, piscinas, etc. They look more like niches in the vast St. Peter's, or even chapels in the Greek Kazan. A fierce controversy, to be sure, is waging on the subject: the newspapers and periodicals are full of it. I went into Wiltshire, and saw a church on which Mr. Sydney Herbert, the M.P., had spent a fortune: it had seven hundred and fifty-four pillars, big and little, no two alike! I went, in the opposite direction, to Lincolnshire, and there saw another on which its wealthy rector, called Barridge, was in progress of lavishing his money, making it, to my eye, a glittering temple for Catholicism rather than a house appropriate to Protestant worship. The religious archæologists are raking up and restoring, under one pretence or another, all the Roman abominations denounced by the Reformation.

Confound it: I am in a garrulous vein, and here suddenly comes the necessity of a despatch!

Ever yrs.

TO LORD CLARENDON.

London, July 29, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,

Definitive information may I think be expected as to the prospects of the sub-Atlantic cable in about two weeks from Monday next, the 3rd August. In the meanwhile, I am promised a telegraphic despatch from the Niagara when she will have successfully laid three hundred miles of the wire; and this shall be sent to you as soon as received.

The message from her Majesty it would seem prudent to have in readiness for transmission by the 10th of August; and I would respectfully suggest that it should be placed in a *sealed* envelope addressed to the President, to be opened only upon the instant the communication between Valentia and St. John's is certain. The envelope, in a letter containing this instruction, should, I am informed by Mr. Cyrus W. Field, be forwarded to "George Seward, Esq., Secretary of the Atlantic Telegraph Company, Valentia, Ireland."

With sentiments of the highest respect,

I am faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, July 31, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The news from India, which reached here the day before yesterday, has augmented alarm and affected the funds. Delhi holds out, with a force of 30,000 mutineers, against General Barnard; and sorties, though not successful ones, are made frequently and with spirit. It is admitted that all Bengal is disaffected. The "plot" was on the eve of exploding at Calcutta, and was only stayed by a sudden disarming. The King of Oude has been arrested and imprisoned. A large body of revolted sepoy are encamped, and yet, it would seem, un-attacked, outside of the walls of Delhi. The loyal profession so much magnified and relied upon by the native troops, was ardently repeated by a regiment which on the next day massacred all its officers and dispersed. Christian missionaries are being mercilessly slain. Madras and Bombay, though agitated and anxious, have yet witnessed no overt acts. These are the leading traits of the telegraphed news. When we get the details, by the correspondence on its way here, it is supposed the picture will be much more gloomy.

Troops are forwarding as fast as they can be got ready. Large inducements are offered to those whose terms of service have expired, to re-enlist. Some

intimations are given of French assistance, but there is an instinctive jealousy of that. It may, however, be confidently expected that for two or three years to come, England will think of nothing but India. Even if she puts a prompt close to the present insurrection, she will have to increase her European forces there immensely, and inaugurate an entirely new system of government. She has, for more than a century, been arrogant, cruel, rapacious, intolerant, and mercenary, and yet she expresses surprise at the rebellion! thinks she has nursed the Hindoos into civilization as an affectionate "mother" would train her children! and now finds in the monstrous ingratitude she meets a justification for dooming the race to a dreadful retribution. Barré's portrait of her parentage to us is no doubt true in application to her colonies in general. She is the reverse of Rome.

I have heretofore referred to the question of the Moldo-Wallachian Principalities as one calculated in its progress to disturb existing combinations. You perceive that it is now working. France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia are on one side: England, Austria, and Turkey on the other. Their representatives have reached the point of angry rupture.

You have probably had your mind recalled to the question of the Right of Search by the case of the *Panchita*. Does not that case, and the actual position of this government present a most favourable con-

juncture for quietly putting an end to that pretension ?

Pray say to the President that the Queen of the Netherlands specially enjoined it upon me to express her pleasure at hearing of his complete restoration to health, and to say that she remembered with much gratification his visit to Holland, where he had left many agreeable recollections. Her Majesty speaks English like a book.

There can be no doubt that every effort will be made to break up the refuge which the unhappy continental democrats find in this country. Sovereigns are, for this purpose, in their turn "conspiring." The failure at Genoa, and the implication by arrested men in Paris of Mazzini and Ledru Rollin in a design to assassinate Louis Napoleon, furnish the pretext. The Press here will resist gallantly ; but it will not surprise me if, as one of the possible results of the actual predicament of England, the visit of the Emperor to Osborne on the 5th proximo were to be followed by some harsh measure against aliens.

To-day, it is thought, will realize the recent giving out of Lord John Russell, and see Baron Rothschild sworn in by resolution in such form as he may deem obligatory upon his conscience. Such a course promises to be the initiation of a protracted contest.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, August 4, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Lafragua, the Mexican minister in Madrid, is reported as gone to Paris, but it is believed in order to facilitate the accepted mediation of England and France. Were anything serious and critical impending, Mr. — would not keep it from me. As it is, nobody anticipates a belligerent course from Spain. There is, however, great difficulty in getting at the truth.

The recognition of the free navigation of the Danube, and the extinguishment of the Sound Dues, have very naturally brought into question another kindred matter,—the tax levied by that great potentate the King of Hanover upon commerce on the Elbe. Goods crossing a line running from the mouth of the Schwinge, a small Hanoverian river, nearly due east across the Elbe to the opposite Holstein shore, are subjected to a toll ranging from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem. The exaction is enforced even though the vessels are merely passing up the river, and do not stop in the Hanoverian sovereignty, which does nothing to preserve or improve the channel. Is it not worth while inquiring how far our trade is affected? (perhaps it has been done already) and whether it be worth while to make the stand against the "Brunshausen Toll,"

which you took the lead in making against the Sound Dues?

I send you a fat parliamentary volume in the nature of a Blue Book. Lord Clarendon was kind enough to let me have two copies: one will adorn the library of your department, the other that of this legation. The contents are valuable and interesting.

The contest about the Jews' Oath waxes warm. Lord John Russell has again shifted his ground, and now relies upon the general language of a forgotten and disinterred statute of William IV. He has got the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Bethell, to agree with him in its interpretation, and so may find his position strong, notwithstanding the clear and powerful dissent of Sir Frederick Thesiger, certainly one of the ablest, if not the very ablest, lawyer in the House. A committee to construe the Act, to consult, and report, will probably be appointed this evening. Lord Palmerston reserves himself for their interpretation.

The details of the news from India are frightful:—but they do not attest that disaffection among the people out of the ranks of the army without which the military mutiny must soon fizzle out. Delhi has probably succumbed to the army of General Barnard, say about 12,000 to 13,000, though we have no authentic account of the fact. The zeal here is unabated: their empire in the East must be saved at

every cost : the sentiment is common to all shades of party.

Do you notice the peremptory violence of the French minister at Constantinople on the Danubian Principalities question? *A la Meneschikoff* he threatened to quit, and the frightened Turk changed his cabinet to prevent his departure. How Lord Stratford will stomach this remains to be seen. This political arrangement of the Treaty of Paris always struck me as having in it the seeds of great controversy.

The Queen, in person, will probably prorogue Parliament about the 23rd instant, and proceed the next day to Balmoral. Everybody that can will imitate her example in hastening out of London. I propose, after having endured city confinement continuously for sixteen months, to give my family a swallow of sea air, on the eastern point of the Isle of Wight. The heat has been trying for a week past, the mercury sometimes at 90°.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, August 7, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

At Lord Palmerston's, the night before last, I had a short dialogue with Mr. Comyn, the Spanish Chargé.

D. I notice in the *Post* that your *Chef* is coming back. When will he be here?

C. He intends returning, but has not yet left Madrid.

D. He will probably be able to tell us how your controversy with Mexico gets on.

C. Oh! for the present, and perhaps finally that is disposed of. We have accepted the mediation of France and England. But, Mexico is impracticable; and it is difficult to say how we are to get a guaranty that she will not repeat her barbarities.

D. Her domestic politics are very much distracted, and her government took no part in the injuries of which you complain.

C. May be so.

D. And, after all, an attack from you might do her an essential good. You would rouse her to union and action:—as to reconquering her, that, of course, you know is an impossibility. Where is Mr. Lafragua?

C. I believe at, or on his way to Paris.

The French sovereigns arrived at Osborne yesterday morning. Prodigious pains are taken by military, naval, and police to secure their personal safety. Nothing was allowed, on the water, to approach within two miles of them. A body of Parisian detectives forms a cordon round them at a distance. And yet the eagerness of his Majesty to greet Prince Albert, when near the landing, led to his stumbling

down the paddle-wheel and falling heavily on the deck, thereby, as it is said, "grazing his face and shaking himself considerably." Mazzini should, provide a Roman augur to make the most of the Omen!

Parliament will remain in session some two weeks longer. A general desire prevails to hear something definitive from India before adjournment:—and the grouse can wait a fortnight.

Lord Carlisle fastened the European end of the sub-Atlantic telegraph wire to its place at Valentia yesterday morning, and away westward steamed the little squadron! I am hourly expecting a message from Mr. Field, who is on board the Niagara, and who promised one when the expedition has prosperously got 500 miles forward.

I send you the copy of a letter which I received yesterday from a leading commercial house here, one of whose partners, Mr. G. Moffatt, is a Member of Parliament. It complains of what it calls "an anomaly" in our recent reduction of the tariff, passed March 3rd, 1857. Tea was a non-enumerated article in the schedules of the tariff of 1846, and therefore by a special clause made subject to a duty of 20 per cent., "*when imported direct from the place of its growth or production in American vessels, or in foreign vessels entitled by reciprocal treaties to be exempt from discriminating duties, tonnage, and other charges.*" The object of the discrimination is obvious; and yet, perhaps, while the Chinese market is affected by

political difficulties, we should find benefit in suspending its operation. What thinks the President, or Mr. Cobb?

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, August 18, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The arrival of Gov. Wright in the steamer Atlantic took me by surprise. Mr. Vroom has left Berlin, and will reach Paris to-morrow or the next day. He proposes to embark for the United States on board the Arago, which leaves Southampton on the 26th instant. Gov. Wright, who has been with me all the morning, is worried at not having got to his post before his predecessor quitted it, as he very naturally hoped to get the benefit of his local knowledge on modes and means of life. Hence he hastens across the Channel.

You observe that Lord John Russell's Committee on the Statute of William IV., after complying with the decencies of consultation for two or three days, put a negative upon the hoped-for construction which would apply the words "*body corporate and politic*" to the House of Commons, and Baron Rothschild is again put off. This failure of Lord John will, I think, strengthen the position of the House of Lords,

and, with the help of the Church, set the current against the Jews.

Louis Napoleon managed matters on his recent visit with singular adroitness. He has obviously carried his present, if not his ultimate, point as regards the Principalities, and induced Lord Palmerston to confess in the House of Commons, with some disingenuous distinctions, a change or surrender of policy. The truth, however, is that India, and India alone, is the predominating and controlling thought; nor should I wonder if the offer of a regiment or two of Zouaves had proved more attractive than the mere abstract theory of bolstering the independence of Turkey by keeping Moldavia and Wallachia divided. *Nous verrons.*

You know how impossible it is for an Englishman to understand and apply the limited nature of our federal constitution and system. They all hope and believe here that you are about to extirpate the Mormons, and rejoice as much at the prospective overthrow of that fanaticism, as at the cherished expectation of the triumph of another in 1860. Perhaps (according to a favourite form of speech) you may not gratify them on either point.

One of the Parisian correspondents of a daily journal here invents the idea that Mexico has taken the stud at Spain's backwardness to accept her proffered hand, and has instructed Lafragua to make not a step farther in conciliation. If Mr. Comyn

spoke truth to me, and I cannot doubt it, the mediating powers, having got the matter in charge, will soon end it.

I am sending my family for a short period to the Isle of Wight: a distance which I can conveniently run over on the railway in four or five hours.

The ministerial whitebait dinner, precursive of parliamentary prorogation, has been announced for the 19th instant.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, August 18, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The failure as regards the electric cable is a sad affair. It would not appear to be relieved by any promising or remediable symptom. The sudden rising of the ship, in obedience to the swell, must necessarily test the strength of the wire, and may be more or less violent: a rise which does not jerk might be harmless notwithstanding the weight already immersed: but even a momentary pause in paying out would risk a snap. However, a great result is rarely achieved by a first experiment, and we have many reasons for confidence in the power of mechanism scientifically directed.

The Niagara and Susquehanna went into Plymouth. They will probably remain on this side of the Atlantic

until their officers have had opportunity to consult with their associates in the enterprise, and the prospects of the future as well as the facts of the past are capable of being embodied in a report.

Mr. P. reached here on the 14th instant, and has brought me letters from yourself and Governor Wise. I have not yet had the pleasure to see him, and, of course, do not know the aim of his mission except very generally. The American demand for English capital is increasing and almost unlimited: but I should hope that the timidity of money-lenders would subside in sight of such security as the State of Virginia can exhibit. The letter printed by Governor Wise a short time ago, and of which he was kind enough to send me a copy, put the resources of the Ancient Dominion in a striking light. All our States, however, are still suffering, more or less, the disrepute inflicted by the caustic and indiscriminating pen of Sydney Smith.

Parliament will close with this week, and the world of official business and of fashionable toil will immediately disperse to the four quarters, not to be reassembled before late in February, unless the Indian rebellion assume a size—*dignus vindicæ nodus*.

I have recently obtained for our worthy historical compiler, Dr. Jared Sparks, the permission of Lord Clarendon to rummage through and extract from the diplomatic correspondence in the State Paper

Office carried on during our revolutionary struggle, between the ministry here and their representatives in Spain and Holland. He goes to the Hague, too, to see if Mr. Belmont can obtain for him there the like opportunity. He is a slow, painstaking and honest compiler, and, as we have a vast deal of this sort of work to do before the foundation of our national history can be thought fairly and securely laid, it would be a wise measure in Congress to authorize his permanent engagement for the purpose.

I hope your eyes are less enfeebled by use than mine: if not, I am afraid that you must regard the deciphering of my cramped handwriting as rather more troublesome than satisfactory.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MRS. BACHE.

Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, August 18, 1857.

MY DEAR SISTER,

We have got ourselves temporarily ensconced at one of the most picturesque points of this beautiful island. Facing south, we have immediately below us a hidden cluster of houses; beyond these a lower cliff, with a precipitous fall of some three hundred feet, and then, all open to the eye, the wide sea rolling or glittering to the Bay of Biscay or the coast of Spain. Just in our rear frowns the first of a

succession of cliffs north, on whose side we have ventured to clamber a little, but whose top has thus far proved inaccessible to us. Our cottage rests, amid trees and flowers, on one of the platforms, as it were, of this mountainous stairway called the Undercliff: we have no neighbouring houses in sight, except the belfry and cross of an old chapel far below us, although elegant villas are numerous all about, and their sites may be guessed at by the curling smoke from their kitchen fires. We are said to be in the village of Bonchurch, to have the town of Ventnor on our right, to the west about a mile off, and the city of Ryde nearly due north, distant a two hours' stage. This is *said*, for unless we journey away we are actually able to see only the ocean at our feet or the broad green cliff in the clouds.

So far for position, to which my description necessarily fails to do justice. Our home is what a man of fine taste and adequate means would adapt to such a *localité*. It is the perfection of a Swiss cottage, in exterior architecture, and its interior is inimitably arranged for hall, parlours, dining-room, six chambers, kitchen, servants' apartments, and so forth. The furniture is exceedingly neat, and everything in the highest order of English cleanliness. I have rented it for six weeks for forty-two guineas, say £220. The principal incidental expense of this delightful rustication is that of moving to and from London:—for, of course, my presence at the legation must not

be suspended, if there be the smallest occasion for it. The jaunt by railway to Portsmouth, thence across the Solent to Ryde, is three hours; and to *Cliff-Den* by coach an hour and a half more.

A favourable wind, like the one which began two days ago and still continues, gives us the finest imaginable marine panorama. All the harbours of Holland, Belgium, France, and the eastern front of England, disgorge their ships and steamers for the western and southern voyages. I have counted as many as thirty-six, forty-six, and forty-eight vessels in full sail, and visible from the piazza. Sophia and the girls have been enchanted by a short absence from the London heat, smoke, and dust, to which they have clung continuously for sixteen months; and I sincerely hope it may brace them to bear another of those delirious "seasons," two of which have gone roaring by.

While thus writing, don't think that I am forgetting whom it is for. The good accounts latterly received of your improving state induce me to suppose that I may amuse you and beguile a few moments of slow recovery.

We are just now expecting a visit from two ladies of Philadelphia, Mrs. E. and Mrs. J. And here in fact they are! Mrs. E. says she has come on purpose to be able to report faithfully the character of our cottage when she gets to the U. S. by the steamer *Baltic* early next month. They will honour

us for two days, and then travel through the little
isle on their way back to London.

Ever most affectionately yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, August 25, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

No city can be imagined duller or more repulsive than London during the hot season of August and September, when Parliament, public functionaries, club frequenters, the Court, and fashion have all sped away as if flying from pestilence. Everything becomes insipid, languid, and listless. The resorts, the libraries, the galleries, the shows, are shut up. The great thoroughfares are thinned. The crowds of equipages have vanished. The Squares are without life or light, every house deserted, and the four blocks of buildings staring vacantly over the area with doors and shutters tightly closed. To be sure, the summer's sun treats most towns in this way:—but the effect is worse in London, because of its vastness, and because of its multitudinous swarms at other times.

I have adverted to this matter, because the *genius loci* seems to have dried up the springs of these private letters to you. I can hear nothing, see nothing, read nothing, think nothing, worthy to be written to a Secretary of State, even had he not the

superadded dignity of being on the other side of an ocean, four thousand miles off. It's a sad dilemma. A diplomat without a topic! An envoy without food for a despatch! and that too in this huge "*poluphloisbos thalassa*" of intelligence and news! One consolation: you will certainly not regret the absence of what must be so vapid and empty.

All eyes, all hearts, all heads are fixed on India. The accounts, since my despatch of last Friday, are gloomy and heavy. Butcheries, savage, indiscriminate, and fanatical, are pouring in. The climate, too, takes sides with the natives. Generals Barnard and Lawrence dead: all Oude up: the circle of mutiny and murder widening every hour. The fifteen hundred men intended to back Lord Elgin in China have found their way to Delhi. At farthest by the month of November, and they could not stand the heats earlier, there will be in Bengal thirty-one thousand British soldiers: a force quite ample to reconquer Hindostan, if properly commanded: and I must confess that my personal intercourse with Sir Colin Campbell, the new commander-in-chief, has inspired me with great confidence in his military capacity and qualities. If he fail, or sink under the climate (to which fortunately he is partially accustomed) the prospect will be dark.

Suppose the rebellion put down, as it may effectually be by this time next year, then comes the

problem what, under the new circumstances, will be done with India? An indifferent stranger almost shudders to think what *may* be done. The population is so great, so ignorant, so superstitious, so vindictive, so cruel, so utterly unprincipled, that, with the zealous counsel of missionaries, no government will be thought capable of lasting six months which is not preceded by overwhelming strokes of vengeance and accompanied by a system of inflexible and unrelenting oppression, political, religious, and social. It will require all the exertion of all the ablest writers and statesmen of England to prevent this consummation, so inconsistent with her humanity, toleration, and justice.

The accident to the sub-Atlantic electric cable is by no means regrettable. Such a thing is natural enough at any time and in any hands: it is not discreditable. But, had it not happened, had they gone on depositing at the rate they did, they must inevitably have developed, "not a crime, but something worse, a blunder." For, only think, notwithstanding the several voyages, the soundings, the calculations, the consultations, the experiments,—their cluster of scientific and mechanical experts had actually provided a cable five hundred miles too short! Captain Hudson tells me that the length paid out exceeded expectation 25 per cent., owing to depths, currents, etc., and that no doubt they would have fallen several hundred miles short of

reaching St. John's: one mile of which would have been just as fatal as one thousand!

A project of a Red Sea electric telegraph is much talked of: the India difficulties make it exceedingly desirable; and there is great probability that the East India Company will purchase the Atlantic cable at its cost, and apply it to their more urgent purpose:—leaving the Atlantic Company to construct a new one by next spring.

Parliament may be prorogued to-morrow or the next day, or it may linger on for several days. The Queen will not be kept waiting, and so it is given out that the prorogation will be by commission. One cause of uncertain delay is the Divorce bill, now gone amended back to the Lords: another is the expectation of receiving something decisive from India by Thursday next, when parliamentary votes of supply for a great military effort may be required. Lord Panmure said, while I was in the House of Lords last night with Mr. Preston, that they had out upwards of five hundred and fifty recruiting parties, and had enlisted in one week about sixteen hundred.

I bade Governor and Mrs. Vroom good-bye on Saturday last. They were leaving for Paris, and will join the Arago at Havre to-day.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASE.

London, September 1, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

These missives of mine must be regarded with indulgence. I am quite aware that they must often be vapid and flat. That is unavoidable in a correspondence continuously kept up at brief intervals. It is impossible to find the supply of news always equal to the demand. Still, I am unwilling that you should be long without at least a line from me.

1. Lafragua, the Mexican Envoy to Madrid, is "*in nubibus*." No one can say where he is, or what he is at. The last theory represents him as having gone to Cadiz, to embark for home, in a pet: a theory on which no reliance can be placed.

2. The affair of the steamer Cagliari is being exaggerated by quidnuncs and newspaper scribes into a ground of war between Piedmont and Naples. She was the vessel seized by certain of her Mazzinian passengers and employed in reaching Sicily. Having been taken into custody, the King declines restoring her to his brother of Sardinia; and so the seed of quarrel is fresh planted in the soil of old grudge.

3. Vogorides has had all his electioneering trouble and squabbling for nothing. He is obliged to repeat the same game, as the Sultan has consented to cancel the former result. The Union party in

Moldavia is strong, but not believed to be in the majority. The management of Vogorides tricked and overwhelmed it. Wallachia will probably remain steadfast to the principle of Union: backed by the potent influences of Russia and France. Austria is particularly and angrily averse to the Union, and the Porte dislikes and intrigues against it. England has cooled in her zeal about the matter, under the shadow of the India revolt and the sunshine of the imperial visit to Osborne. The chances are not bad that we shall witness the creation of a new Monarchy and a new Royal Dynasty.

4. The world of London is dispersed. The rush abroad and into the country preceded the prorogation and left scarcely a "Corporal's Guard" to do the ceremony. Locomotion will soon be the pastime of all the sovereigns. Queen Victoria has gone to Balmoral, taking Lord Clarendon in her train. The Empress Eugénie has had her Sunday sport at bull-baiting, and is off to Plombières. Louis Napoleon is whisking from one town to another, and, it is thought, after the review at Châlons, will contrive to meet the Czar somewhere in Germany.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, September 14, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have availed myself of a few days in the country to draft a letter to Lord Clarendon on the Panchita business. It rather grew under the pen as I analyzed the papers you sent me. His lordship is, however, in attendance upon her Majesty at Balmoral, and I may not get an answer these two months.

Fresh news hourly expected from India. In the meantime, the old dishes of insurrectionary atrocity are re-hashed and daily spread in the newspaper columns. They certainly are shocking. The *Weekly Press*, Mr. Disraeli's special puffer, told us on Saturday, the day before yesterday, of a suspicion that government had received further accounts so disastrous that they kept them back until well ventilated. This is mere party coinage.

The populace are becoming irreverent. The ministry are assailed for absenting themselves on grouse plains, stalking moors, and watering-places, at a moment when the empire is shaken to its foundations. Even the Queen is thought to fall too easily into the bull-baiting track of the Empress, when she celebrates the massacre of her subjects in Bengal by festive sports in Scotland.

The quarters whence men receive help in life are sometimes very hidden and odd. You perceive that

Macaulay has been made a Peer. Well, I ascribe his promotion as much to Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, as to a real sense of his merits. For, you must know that just as the public were discussing "a creation" of Lord John Russell, Lord Robert Grosvenor, Lord this and Lord that, out from over the Atlantic came a caustic and dogged article in a number of the *Tribune* on the discomfiture of Thackeray as a candidate for Oxford, and dwelling with gnashing teeth upon the indifference shown even by the liberals to ability when contending with family and title. It had no look towards Macaulay. When it was penned, the great historian had not been thought of:—but its drift touched a sensitive spot, and, in true Palmerstonian style, without a word said, what was meant as a practical disproof brought up Macaulay. "There's more in heaven and earth, *Horatio*, than is dreamt of in (even!) your philosophy."

The two Emperors, of Russia and France, design to meet and embrace at Stutgard on the 25th or 26th instant. *Cui bono?* unless to swear eternal friendship as their predecessors did at Tilsit, and then straightway fall to fighting, it is hard to say. Perhaps, Louis Napoleon, assuming the character strongly hinted for him in the last *Edinburgh Review*, of the Roman Augustus, being a nephew of another Julius, meditates the golden era of universal peace, as the sequent of his uncle's everlasting wars.

If India permit, I think Palmerston or Clarendon will meet Walewski there. Suppose the world parcelled into tranquillity by a national triumvirate which will secure China to the Czar, Egypt to Octavius, and Hindostan to Vernon Smith!

My theory about the Spanish menace against Mexico is merging into reality. The dread of our seizing the plausible opportunity to acquire Cuba has put them into fidgets to prevent the quarrel. All over Europe just now, there is a disposition to regard the United States as a sort of "*John Jones of the War Office!*" a belligerent individual to be encountered wherever there is a muss, and who cannot be put down; when he looms up the alarmed gaze at him, as Alpine travellers watch the impending avalanche, which a single musket-shot may bring crashing down upon them. You'll say, this is flighty figure: I insist that four-fifths of it are positive matter of fact.

Always faithfully yrs.

NOTE.—The note addressed to Lord Clarendon, referred to in the first paragraph of the foregoing letter, was printed in a Blue Book furnished to Parliament six or eight months after its date. It is extracted from the Blue Book.

Inclosure 1, in No. 580.

MR. DALLAS TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

*Legation of the United States, London, }
September 16, 1857.*

MY LORD,

It has been made my duty to call to the notice of her Majesty's government, certain proceedings of Commander Fairfax

Moresby, of the Royal Navy, on the Western Coast of Africa; in the early part of May last; and to avert, if possible, any unfavourable influence which those proceedings might have upon the relations of the two countries, by inviting from your lordship such early and distinct disclaimer and assurance as may be esteemed adequate. No doubt is entertained that the acts of Commander Moresby were unauthorized; that, however plausibly pursued, they were the suggestions of his own discretion, not of his official instructions, and that all danger of their repetition will be promptly removed.

The barque *Panchita*, Frederick B. Sladden, master, owned by citizens of New York, with an American register, and trading under the flag of the United States, was, on the 9th of May, 1857, lying at Punta de Lenha. At the same date, in the River Congo, was her Majesty's sloop *Sappho*, commanded by Commander Moresby, one of the British squadron then stationed off the African coast to prevent the Traffic in Slaves. The *Panchita* had, in some manner, awakened suspicions as to her objects in the mind of Commander Moresby, who (agreeably to his own narrative) with "the pinnace and gig" of his armed vessel, proceeded to Punta de Lenha "for the purpose of examining her." Meeting Captain Sladden, Commander Moresby "expressed" to him "a wish to muster his crew," and "no objection being made," went, accompanied "by Mr. Frederick Wells, master of her Majesty's sloop under his command, on board the *Panchita*;" mustered the crew; asked, and was refused, permission to look into the holds; became confirmed in his "opinion" of her being "engaged in the illegal Traffic of Slaves," and was thus "induced to inform" Captain Sladden, that he should "detain him," with a view to give him over to the first American man-of-war he could meet. Finally, the "suspicions" of Commander Moresby being "by the vast quantity of fresh water" aboard "still further corroborated," he took "upon himself the great responsibility of sending" the barque to New York "for the decision of the United States authorities," detailing for that purpose Lieutenant C. D. J. Odevaine, with a party of seamen, and giving special and prudent directions for their conduct.

It may be added that the *Panchita* duly arrived at New York, was transferred to the custody of the Marshal of the United

States for that district, and was libelled in the proper Court of Civil and Admiralty jurisdiction as a forfeiture. The question whether or not her voyage was, either in fact or intention, connected with the Traffic in Slaves will ultimately be determined in that still pending judicial proceeding; but its decision, one way or the other, can have no bearing on the violation of sovereign right now brought to your lordship's attention.

This statement of Commander Moresby's conduct is made, as already intimated, almost exclusively in his own words: nor is it deemed necessary to the design of the present communication that the striking discrepancies of detail between his statement and that of Captain Sladdon should be drawn into relief by comment. They illustrate, it is true, the conflicts to which a course of action like that of Commander Moresby necessarily leads, so liable to exasperate popular sensibilities on either side, and, in the end, to endanger the friendship and peace of nations. But I am unwilling to mix with the public aspect of the subject the colouring of individual imputation.

The Earl of Clarendon will, then, perceive that Commander Moresby, on the occasion described, impelled by "suspicion," actually effected a visitation, search, and seizure of the *Panchita*: that he knew her to be an American vessel; that, for predetermined "examination," he went to her, accompanied by a show of force, namely, the master of the *Sappho*, and two boats' crews from his sloop-of-war; and that, excited by discovering what he construed to be badges of a criminal employment, he assumed the responsibility of disregarding the flag she bore, and of wresting her from the control and possession of her American captain.

Against each leading feature characterizing this transaction—the visit, the search, the seizure—the government of the United States has uniformly, on all appropriate opportunities, for more than fifty years, openly and effectually protested, as inconsistent with the laws of nations, sanctioned by no Treaty, subversive of the separate rights and derogatory to the honour of independent communities. It was not the exercise of any fancied privilege of war, for profound peace prevailed; and yet, without the pretence of belligerent necessity, in respect to contraband or blockade, the property and citizens of a friendly Power were invaded and

arrested, and the protecting presence of their national symbol irreverently slighted.

The flag of the United States has a meaning which should not be hastily overlooked. Like that of Great Britain, or of any other civilized country, no matter how distant the sea, or humble the lorch on which it floats, it implies a pledge of a nation's power and honour to shelter what is beneath it from invasion or wrong. All flags are but hoisted emblems asserting the national presence and jurisdiction. Commander Moresby, even while recognizing the genuineness of the Panchita's flag, failed to appreciate its real dignity and inviolability.

The reasons assigned for this extraordinary proceeding are certainly as distinctly confessed as they are frivolous. They are found in the report of Commander Moresby to his superior officer, Commodore John Adams, of her Majesty's ship *Scourge*, dated the 15th of May, 1857. They do not call for much elaboration of analysis or remark.

Commander Moresby "suspected," say, confidently believed, that the Panchita was engaged in the illegal Traffic of Slaves.

I need not remind your lordship that since the United States led the way, by their Federal Legislation, to the abolition and penal proscription of the African Slave Trade, they have manifested, in every manner deemed compatible with their fundamental institutions, the fixed opinions of their people, and considerations of the highest moment, the utmost determination and sincerity in carrying out that policy of philanthropy and justice. But the United States, although they went far, stopped at the line which the reckless zeal of Commander Moresby overleaped. Though often persuaded, they have invariably declined to concede to any nation, upon any terms, for any object, a right irreconcilable with the perfect immunity of their mercantile marine from foreign interference. Without their previously obtained consent, no visit, or search, or seizure, of an American vessel can take place except with defiance and insult to their flag. The Convention of the 9th of August, 1842, signed at Washington by its negotiators, Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton, with the principles and provisions of which your lordship is familiar, arranged for a small squadron of the United States Navy on the

coast of Africa, in order, first, that their public force might co-operate with that of her Majesty in extinguishing the Slave Trade; and, secondly, that their merchant vessels, if suspected, or even flagrantly guilty, should, nevertheless, be liable to visitation, or search, and seizure, by the officers and seamen of their own country only. Eagerly, even at great cost, as the suppression of the noxious Traffic might be sought, it was still not an aim to which the United States would consent to sacrifice the more dearly valued exemption of their own citizens from coercion by strangers. *I may be pardoned for here adverting to the language used on this very topic, by one of the brightest and most authoritative ornaments of English judicature: "No one nation has a right to force its way to the liberation of Africa by trampling on the independence of other States, or to press forward to a great principle by breaking through other great principles that stand in the way. The right of visitation and search on the high seas does not exist in time of peace. If it belongs to one nation, it equally belongs to all, and would lead to gigantic mischief and universal war."*

It is hardly worth adding that the mere "suspicion" or belief of Commander Moresby of the illegal occupation of the Panchita cannot be accepted as the slightest possible basis for his proceeding, when the open avowal or the living proof of the supposed fact of guilt is not itself admitted, by compact between the two nations, to be a justification of search or seizure.

Some difficulty is naturally felt in adverting to the remaining reasons with the respect due to an officer honoured in the possession of the Queen's commission. But I feel assured that Lord Clarendon will understand me as only desirous to bring out the true lineaments of the transaction.

Commander Moresby informs Commodore Adams that in sending the Panchita across the Atlantic, in charge of his lieutenant, to New York, he was "incited by the unfortunate fact of the total absence of anything like an American naval authority, and that in consequence the Panchita's detention may be prolonged for an indefinite period."

It would, perhaps, be harsh and invidious to scan too closely the statement that the sending the vessel to New York was

* Lord Stowell.

regarded as the step which involved him in his alleged "great responsibility." In the chain of his acts, that one is the only link not liable to objection, at least on the part of the United States. The American government is outraged, not by the subsequent misgiving and politic device of a reference to its own tribunals, but by the violation of its flag at the outset, the unwarranted intermeddling with the property and pursuits of its citizens, the "examination" and "detention."

Actual trial for a number of years has, perhaps, demonstrated the inadequacy of the squadrons on the Western Coast of Africa to accomplish the great end contemplated by their respective governments. The vessels are, probably, too few; necessarily distant from each other; and occasionally disabled by the diseases incident to climate, or the disasters of weather. They certainly cannot be ubiquitous, and yet without that attribute they are no match for the wary and covetous slave-traders on that extensive shore. Such difficulties, if remediable at all, are to be remedied, not at the discretion of any one, or all, of the naval agents in both services, but by the concurring action of the two governments. Commander Moresby alleges "the total absence of anything like an American authority;" but such absence (in one aspect, rather fortunate than otherwise) justified, as regards the flag of the United States, and the lives and property over which it waved, no arbitrary substitution of himself in the stead of the American absentee, for the purposes of visitation and search. An American authority might very possibly, upon receiving from Commander Moresby a revelation of his "suspicion" of the *Panchita* have done precisely what Commander Moresby did; but Captain Moresby could under no circumstances or pretext whatever do it, without usurping a supervisory function, not only not confided, but expressly forbidden, to him.

It would seem as if the imposed restraints, and the purposed omissions, of the Treaty of 1842, were not in harmony with the speculative opinions, and chafed the eager spirit, of this subordinate officer. He entertained "a firm conviction that if some steps be not taken, there is nothing whatever to prevent the American flag from sanctioning any vessel, openly in the eyes of the world, equipping and trading with slavers in any part of the African coast;" and he proceeded to take the reformatory steps

of visitation and seizure of the Panchita. This may be one mode by which the Gordian knot of the "consuetudinary Law of Nations," "great principles that stand in the way," and even precise conventional stipulations, can be cut. But Commander Moresby has to learn from your lordship that it is an absurd and indefensible mode. It is absurd, as having a tendency to alienate and detach from the united undertaking a powerful people who first legislated to abolish the Trade; who first, by municipal enactment, made that Trade punishable as piracy; and whose armed force has been perseveringly stationed to watch and prevent it. It is indefensible, as placing the matured policy and peace of nations at the mercy of their rash and presumptuous servants, and as "leading to gigantic mischief and universal war."

It would be unjust to ascribe to Commander Moresby the mistaken impression that, because the Criminal Code of the United States denounced as piracy the Traffic of which he suspected the Panchita to be guilty, he was, therefore, at liberty to search and seize that vessel and her crew as "enemies of the human race." He puts forward no such erroneous reason for his conduct. Ignorance of the wide distinction between the Law of all Nations, and the Municipal Law of a single one, cannot fairly be attributed to him, or to any British officer. The protection or rescue of the American flag from prostitution to illegal aims, still rests exclusively with the American government and people, whose will and ability to enforce their own statutes cannot, or need not, be questioned. On one or more occasions, the Secretary of State, by direction of the President—both of them ardently disposed to combined movement against the trade, and stimulated by a Resolution of the House of Representatives—proposed to her Majesty's government a scheme for the extirpation of that condemned commerce, to be incorporated, by universal consent, into the Law of Nations, and involving mutual concessions of the right of search. The discussions, perplexities, and obstacles encountered by that proposition need not be recalled; it is enough to say that its ultimate failure left the Law of Nations, which it was designed to modify on the point referred to, unaltered.

I trust I am not too sanguine when anticipating that her Majesty's government, aware how occurrences such as the one

on which I have thus animadverted grate upon the sentiments of an independent people, and how rapidly they become unmanageable causes of estrangement and quarrel, will promptly mark the act of Commander Moresby with just reproof, and otherwise render its repetition extremely improbable.

Copies of the documents transmitted to me from Washington, and which have been observed upon, accompany this communication.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) G. M. DALLAS.

TO MR. CASS.

London, September 17, 1857.

DEAR SIR,

I had scarcely closed my letter of the 14th instant under the impression that it would go in the steamer of the 16th, when I found that fresh Indian news had arrived.

Nothing more auspicious, however; perhaps a still farther sinking in the morass of rebellion. Another general forced by ill-health to quit the siege of Delhi, which has made no progress. The Bombay Presidency disaffected and doubted. The rainy season, with all its difficulties and diseases, fairly set in. Yet Havelock has marched from one victory to another, has probably relieved Lucknow, and possibly terrified Nana Sahib into suicide. Sir Colin Campbell had reached Calcutta. I shall be mistaken if he do not hasten to attempt Delhi by assault.

More will be made of the Imperial coincidence at Stutgard than is generally supposed. It will probably originate a Congress.

Lord Clarendon has been relieved of his attendance on the Queen in Scotland, and may give attention to my Panchita despatch within a reasonable time. I suppose Commander Moresby will, for his reckless zeal, be ultimately rewarded with knighthood.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, September 28, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am somewhat exercised to determine which conspiracy against common right will be the less injurious to the United States, the existing one between France and England, or the one concocted at Stutgard between Alexander and Louis Napoleon. That the Emperors contemplate an alliance which will affect the relations and policies of all the European governments, no one doubts; that it must ultimately embarrass, perhaps endanger, this country, is gloomily anticipated; but its power to extend its influence across the Atlantic nobody believes. The course of British cabinets, in the constant snarling and arrogant tendency to alienate America, has perhaps accomplished its natural result and rendered it impossible to bring our people to sympathize,

much less co-operate, with John Bull in his contests with continental despotisms.

The effect to be produced on the domestic politics of England, by the measures of the new alliance, is dreaded by some, and exultingly foreseen by others. It is said, the ministry must be changed; that Palmerston, though very well for ordinary times, is not competent to a great national crisis; that he cannot enact the wonders of Pitt. I think this impression of his capacity is very general. But what then? Is there a stronger man to be had? Certainly not among the Whigs, properly so called. Clarendon? Granville? Lewis? Panmure? Labouchere? Vernon Smith? No, no, no! But can't better be extracted from the Tory ranks? Derby?—not relished. Disraeli?—very respectable as subordinate, preposterous as Prime. Ellenborough?—ditto. In sober truth, the eye ranges over the whole field without encountering a single mind up to the mark of command. Perhaps we might, as the best of a bad bargain, pick up Lord Stanley.

I have a perfect horror of Mormonism. It is a sort of carbuncle on the body politic, which will get worse and worse every year, and inflame the whole system unless resolutely extirpated. I know the Constitutional and legal difficulties in the way:—but sincerely hope that you will seize the first fair opening for a decisive swoop. The subject is one for conversation here almost constantly. Within the

last few weeks some of the Elders, roaming for converts, have held meetings in London, and inspired extreme disgust.

A dread prevails as to what may be the character of the hourly expected news from India. It is feared that the cholera may have compelled an abandonment of the siege of Delhi; that Lucknow fortress may have fallen before Havelock reached; that he may be surrounded by an overwhelming force of sepoys and annihilated; that there may be a preconcerted rush, during the Mohammedan Festival, from Delhi all along the Ganges to Calcutta; and that Madras and Bombay will be unable to withstand the torrent of insurrection. It is said that no substantial succour can arrive until late in October, by which time irreparable mischief may be done.

It is a curious fact that there is a considerable party in Ireland, headed by the newspaper *The Nation*, and not a little countenanced by Cardinal Wiseman, which takes sides with the Hindoos, against the *English filibusters*. It would be difficult to find a stronger illustration of the liberty of the Press as it prevails here.

Of course you notice that Lafragua has received instructions authorizing him to accept the proffered mediation. By the latest hypothesis (for facts are unattainable) the arrangement will be negotiated in this city.

Not a single member of the ministry is in town;

unless he have casually strayed in for a few hours to or from scenes of social enjoyment.

Always faithfully yrs.

P.S.—September 29, 1857. Last night's telegram (a newly coined and most convenient noun) of events in India, although not as bad as was supposed possible, gives additional shades to the picture. Havelock had been unable to advance for the relief of Lucknow as late as the 12th of August, and the gloomiest apprehensions prevailed as to the fate of the thousand English, men, women, and children, who had taken refuge there, but who had estimated their provisions to last only to the 6th of August. Delhi as heretofore. General Nicholson had reached there with reinforcements, though not sufficient to justify an assault, say 2000. The spirit of mutiny seems spreading: to the south-west of Delhi, at Judpore, at Belguum, in the Bombay Presidency, and in Bombay itself, where they were disarming particular native corps; and in Madras. Lord Canning is the object of much attack, as inefficient and too forbearing. It is said that he and Sir Colin Campbell had had serious differences, and that Lord Elgin took sides with the latter. Nothing short of prompt vindictive cruelty towards the sepoy will go down now. John Bull doubts the capacity and patriotism of every man who is not implacable; he exacts torrents of black blood, and razed cities.

Canning will probably be recalled because he don't play the part of a British Nana Sahib. Lord Elgin may be summoned from Hong-Kong, whither he has returned, to assume the Governor-Generalship. Nobody, just now, cares for China.

Lord Clarendon has appointed a new consul-general at New York, Mr. E. M. Archibald, the brother of the gentleman who has been lately actively soliciting the place, and who is known I believe personally to the President. The consul was formerly the attorney-general of Newfoundland; and had retired on a pension. He was preferred to his brother because younger, being within fifty years of age, the maximum of consular appointees, agreeably to the rules of the Foreign Office.

Always faithfully yrs.

G. M. D.

TO MR. CASS.

London, October 5, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is said we need expect nothing farther from India for a fortnight. During that period anxiety will work itself into fever.

I think I perceive much effort and dexterity in preventing really bad news from striking too suddenly upon the public mind. One of these finds facility in the little known geography of Hindostan, and the

unpronounceable nomenclature of its towns and districts. As an instance: A mutiny of 20,000, with a Rajah of Akulkote at its head, is announced as having occurred at or near Shulapore: well, it produces no special sensation, because few are able to separate it from the general *mêlée* in Bengal between Delhi and Calcutta. But if you once turn to the map and gazetteer, and discover this formidable outbreak to be in the Bombay Presidency, about 250 miles south-east of the city of Bombay, then you perceive it tells an ominous story of the extension of the rebellion some seven or eight hundred miles from its place of origin, far in the interior, and in a region whose order was still matter of boast. Perhaps I ascribe unmerited importance to this fact; but on carefully hunting up its locality, it appears to me terribly significant. One immediate effect of these sporadic outbreaks is to render a concentration of the British forces sent out quite impossible.

The large expenditures incident to the exactions of this "servile war" will bring the skill of Sir George C. Lewis, Chancellor of the Exchequer, into play. Government is more earnest and lavish now than in the Crimean war. Yet, by an official abstract it appears that the receipts in the Treasury during the quarter ending 30th September, contrasted with those of the corresponding quarter of 1856, show a decrease of £900,000: although, comparing the entire years, that of 1856 surpasses 1857 by only

£170,000. Now the principal decrease has been in the Excise and Property-tax, amounting jointly to upwards of £500,000: and it may well be predicted that the reductions effected last fall will have to be undone, and that the Income-tax, with such modifications as will prevent its becoming unpopular, which it certainly ought not to be, will be re-established and possibly increased beyond any rate it has yet attained. The amount of taxation which this people will bear is wonderful. Their capacity to borrow on emergencies is the only more wonderful thing:—their credit being literally inexhaustible, as the annual profits of their industry are enormous.

Your Nos. 80 and 81 by the Europa came this morning. Now do, pray, attend to what I have to say about *the die* from which you send a gold medal for Captain De Gruchy. So many have passed through my hands that I am almost ashamed of having been accessory to inflicting so much discredit upon the artistic taste and skill of the country. Nothing can be worse imagined or worse executed. We formerly had die-sinkers who produced beautiful medals. In the Mint at Philadelphia there are some that do credit to American art. But this! ye gods, it is frightful! Gold cannot make it tolerable, although it burnishes and recommends everything else. In silver, worse. Now, in this dilettanti age, we are snubbed at the sight of such specimens from the government studio. If the stamp is worth having

at all, it is worth having such as will stand criticism. "Reform it altogether."

I send you what I think rather an interesting and tell-tale slip just cut from a newspaper. It shows the troops sent to India, vessels, and dates: and you will perceive that the greater portion can hardly be expected to reach their destination before November. Hence, no doubt, it has been resolved to try the shorter cut by the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO JUDGE WOODWARD.

London, October 6, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had not supposed that it would take Lord Clarendon so long to deliberate upon the expediency of allowing me to have a copy of Major Butler's report. It is near a month since I wrote to him, and his answer came last evening. You will observe too that he has thought proper to omit some portions. Of the nature of these suppressions, it is useless to conjecture, though one can hardly avoid thinking that they might possibly have exhibited the combined forces of savages and English as committing equal, mayhap greater excesses than are now fiercely denounced as unpardonable barbarities by the "black fiends" of Bengal. This sensitiveness to national character is rather laudable, than otherwise, but had

better not be indulged at the expense of historical truth. The Earl is himself so excellent and amiable, that I am not surprised at his shrinking from disclosing how worse than wild Indians his countrymen sometimes are or have been. Copies of the letters which passed between us are enclosed for your private information.

Very faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, October 13, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

There is a great likelihood that the King of Prussia will shortly die. I presume we shall all be bound to go into mourning for his Majesty, especially as the marriage of his nephew with the Princess Royal has made so much stir in Parliament and elsewhere. By-the-bye (even the d— is entitled to his due), I have been assured most positively that the alleged intemperate habits of the King were the false inventions of English travellers, that he is uncommonly abstemious, drinks nothing beyond wine and water, but that he has a silly trick of lowering his eyes and shaking his head, which suggested the notion that he was *vinum gualando potens*. His intellect is fast yielding, and he now fails to recognize his oldest friends. When he is finally off, I suppose there will be an immense *rapprochement* between the Courts of Potsdam and St. James.

The Queen will honour the southern section of her dominions by returning from Balmoral to Windsor on Saturday next the 17th. Her Majesty stops a day, in the royal progress, at Haddo House with the Earl of Aberdeen. I take it for granted that this great dull town will feel the influence of regal vicinity, and be restored to the life so essential to sustain these private letters of mine.

Your idea of improving our foreign diplomacy by having each minister apprised of the principal objects pursuing at every Court is excellent. I urged something analogous to it upon Mr. Forsyth, while I was at St. Petersburg, and I pressed it upon Mr. Webster when Secretary of State. It is the great practical advantage enjoyed by the diplomats of Russia. It produces a harmony of action and *inculcation* that, in a long run, tells conclusively. Mr. Webster's difficulty was in the great labour which it must throw upon somebody in the department, already overtaxed. How that may be I can't pretend to say; but if there be any use at all in having missions dotted over Europe, they might as well be made to co-operate in the general policy of the government as run the risk of impeding it by want of information from the fountain-head. Take an instance somewhat illustrative. I had been here but three or four months when, at an interview in the Foreign Office, Lord Clarendon suddenly asked me whether a treaty had been made between the United States

and Persia, by which we had engaged to lend some naval squadrons to the Shah, and were to be indemnified by the possession of certain trading stations in the Gulf; and he produced two or three long articles extracted from the instrument. What could I reply? There was no practice of communicating from the department on which I could rely, and I had never heard of the treaty. Fortunately, I took a strong impression that his lordship was making, rather hastily, a ground of complaint against us as a set-off to Crampton's affair, and that the alleged treaty was absurdly unconstitutional. I pondered over the paper he put in my hands for a minute or two, and, aware that his eyes were fixed with suspicion on my face, I slowly relaxed into a smile, and then exclaimed, laughing, "My lord, you are *hoaxed*: this is a document which no American statesman would dream of making. Some one has played upon what he believed to be the readiness of the ministry to think the United States capable of any enormity." Now this was little more than good luck, and certainly was not founded on any positive knowledge of facts, one way or the other. It struck his lordship forcibly, but did not convince him, and at his special request I wrote to Mr. Marcy inquiringly upon the subject. The hoax was proved, but the risk run in denouncing it, at the outset, weighed upon my mind for some time.

Lord Clarendon has just sent me two large Blue

Books, purporting to be official correspondence on the Slave Trade up to March, 1857. Do you want them? I have not yet had time to open their pages. Indeed, I look upon these compilations, laid upon the parliamentary tables with exceeding regularity, as mere sops to Cerberus, intended to gorge the anti-slavery appetite, so keen throughout England, and to take from the Opposition one of the popular themes of declamation and attack. It is hard work to wade through them.

There is heavy sighing on the London Exchange and Paris Bourse. The calamitous panic in America, and the financial confusion in India are creating mischief everywhere, and the end is not yet. Consols, in one day, yesterday, fell near $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This was accelerated by the unlooked-for action of the Bank of England, in raising her rate of discount, before 10 A.M. to 7 per cent. Private failures are beginning to pour in, among the Scotch-American houses particularly. Some anticipations are gloomy enough to embrace a stoppage of the bank in paying specie. Gold and silver are flowing westward across the Atlantic. A million of dollars, it is said, will be shipped to-day from Liverpool. The French funds underwent a rapid declension. The newspaper accounts from the United States are exceedingly distressing; but, unlike any derangement of credit or currency we have heretofore experienced, it would seem that the present one is in no manner whatever

ascribed to, or inflamed by, politics. Hence, I am inclined to augur an earlier recovery.

I should doubt whether the Central American Treaty will receive the attention of this government until they are relieved of anxiety about India. My impression is that, rather than quarrel, they will yield their interpretation of Mr. Clayton's unhappy Convention; but they will be extremely reluctant to do so in a direct manner, or at a moment when it would seem extorted from their national embarrassment. When they do it, they will want it to appear a concession to amity. Perhaps, too, at this moment, the sore is a little too fresh.

The rage is for Imperial Conferences. These dignitaries are just now all three comparatively young men, and are naturally disposed to scan each other's figures. Austria and France meet next; time and place not yet determined. As to my predicted Congress, to come out of the Stutgard "embraces," it is getting along slowly but surely.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO SIR W. G. OUSELY.

London, October 18, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

Pray receive two packages, one composed of official documents, which I beg you to keep, and the other of two volumes, being Squier's work on the region

you are about visiting, and which, as a gift from the author, I am bound not to part with.

If, on farther rummaging, I find anything more that can possibly be serviceable, I shall do myself the pleasure of sending it.

Begging you to make my best compliments to Lady O., whose prospect in the coming month I cannot help envying, I am,

Very faithfully yrs.

TO MR. J. M. M.

London, October 16, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

There is great difficulty in forming a satisfactory judgment on the actual state of things in India, or the prospects. So much is exaggerated, so much concealed, and so much thrown into confusion by endless repetition. My opinion, however, is that the rebels have done their worst, have leavened nearly all Hindostan with their spirit of mutiny without being able to produce a general explosion, and will now be rapidly reduced to subjection. The great body of the forces recently levied will reach the field of action before the 1st of November. They may find the country already nearly restored to tranquillity, by Sir Colin Campbell, Havelock, and Nicholson: if not, their own numbers are abundantly sufficient to effect that end. England

has exhibited more than usual military vigour and capacity, at this crisis. The beastly butcheries of women and children have stirred the blood in the lowest depths of John Bull's heart. So, too, the British soldiery in Bengal have exhibited admirable courage and endurance. To be sure, everything has been made to give way before the resolution to save, at every cost, the Indian empire. They will soon begin to discuss the principles on which to refound their government there. The Bishop of Oxford and Mr. Gladstone have opened the theme with some impressiveness:—the former is for giving Christianity "*fair play*," by which he means proselyting: the latter is rather too much of a statesman and philosopher for that. I am, on the whole, inclined by the signs of the times to think that, after the subject has been well buffeted between parties, and hammered to death in the journals, it will gradually lull into silence, be forgotten, and the old course of proceeding resume tranquilly its march. To be sure, this will lead to future outbreaks periodically, but what of that? In politics, as in monetary affairs, panics, though momentarily frightful, have their permanent advantages.

The King of Prussia threatens to die. His brother and proper successor meditates renunciation or abdication (at least so your excellent friend Mrs. E. just from Paris told me she had heard), and then Prince William, with his British bride, the Princess

Royal, mounts the throne. Victoria gets ahead of Louis Napoleon by this family arrangement.

Spain is at a loss to get men willing to assume the responsibilities of governing her. That race, so renowned some centuries ago, is fast sinking, indeed already sunk, into wretched impotency. Queen Isabella, sick of all the factions around her, musters character enough to insist upon presiding at the Council!

Our yellow fogs have begun, and Her Majesty has come "frae Scotia:"—so London will be rapidly repopled.

Ever faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, October 20, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Bank of England yesterday raised her rate of discount to 8 per cent.: a rare, if not the single, instance of its being placed so high. Of course Consols fell: they are 84½, and all stocks are affected. The Continental banks are taking the same steps. A feverish anxiety pervades the mercantile classes. The danger is attributed to the disruption of credit in the United States, and particularly to the lawless course of our banks. These institutions seem subject to periodical epidemics; and as the respective States have, over

and over again, shown their incapacity to control them, could Congress apply the constitutional power to better purpose than by enacting a bankrupt law for their exclusive benefit? It is quite clear that while they are at liberty when a storm comes to find shelter in suspending payment, they will never take in sail, or fasten the hatches down. They should be forced to forecast: when the fit is actually upon them, measures of mitigation, compromise, and relief seem unavoidable: the only plan is to prescribe, while they are sound, a rule which will keep them so. Hang the birch on the wall of the schoolroom.

This India convulsion will more or less affect the political attitude and pretension of England for some years to come. Hence it may be important to us that its real bearings and perpetually shifting phases should be distinctly understood. Is it to weaken her? Is it to tone her down? Will her relations with Persia or Russia become complicated with it? What branches of trade, or supplies for her manufactures, are put in jeopardy? These and many other questions naturally spring up; and I am inclined to think that Anglo-Hindustanee study might be very useful to our politics, if not now, at least soon. The Press is teeming with publications of great interest and authority upon the subject: and I have sometimes wished that I had it in my power to send them to your departmental library, and add them to that of the legation. Here are some twelve

or fifteen works—among them, that mine of exact and useful information of all kinds, "*Thornton's Gazetteer of India*," without which a practical statesman's shelves are imperfectly supplied. What say you?

A continental and no unfriendly paper warns Englishmen not to be too sanguine in the expectation of repressing the rebellion, and points significantly to the Sikhs, as a probable source of great danger, though at the moment friendly. The warning is rather late, be its foundation what it may. John Bull thinks he has already strangled the tiger. The *Globe*, a few days ago, chanting the invincibility of the Anglo-Saxon, declared that even the American Revolution would have been crushed had not France lent her aid!

Isabella of Spain has at last a new ministry, of which Admiral Armero and Mon are the chiefs. The rest of the component members as yet unannounced.

Prussia will probably follow the example of Sweden, and have her Regency. From Regent Prince Oscar, we are to have a new member of the diplomatic corps at this Court,—Count de Platen, in the place of old Baron de Hochschild.

The Queen and Court ensconced themselves at Windsor on Saturday last.

All Americans abroad recur with pride to the heroism of Herndon and his companions. An act

which illustrates and dignifies national character should, somehow, receive national notice.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. MARKOE.

London, October 23, 1857.

MY DEAR MARKOE,

Oh! for some sassafras, or slippery elm, vegetable simples apparently unknown to the pharmacopœia of this Babylon!—for the very act of putting on my specs reminds me that the rebellious eye of which I complained about this time last year, has come back to worry and disable.

The money mutiny, like that of the sepoy, is slowly but surely yielding to the force of metal. Consols closed yesterday at 88½, a shade better than the day before. All the world here is engrossed by two possibilities; universal bankruptcy and the loss of India: one just as likely the other, and both mere air-drawn daggers.

I have omitted to thank Mr. Chilton for his few beautiful lines on Herndon. Pray do it, and most cordially, for me. This incident is unequalled in moral beauty. The case of the British frigate *Birkenhead* was like it, but inferior in the fact that the saving of the women and children was the result of military discipline, and not of purely voluntary heroism. I hope the subscription for the family

will succeed ; but I look at the act in another point of view. It is a great event, illustrative of, and tending as long as remembered to mould the national character. Our history has some, though few, of such significant and immortal utterances of high-souled humanity : the clodhopper's rejecting André's bribe is one, and Miller's "I'll try," another ; but nothing so calm, so utterly unselfish, so simultaneously good and great, has yet been recorded. It should live and speak for ever. Perhaps it is unsuited to the cold material of the sculptor ; but ten or twenty thousand dollars appropriated by Congress for a vigorous effort of Horace Vernet's brush, to be hung in the Capitol or the White House, would secure an everlasting discourse upon the glories of a subject far exceeding any military achievement on which we habitually expend folios of 4th of July Orations. I should like to enlist Mr. Pearce, of the Senate, and some such high-feeling and bold-speaking man as Governor Wise, in the House, for this.

But my eye is furiously angry, and threatens if I go on to burst—into tears.

Our countrymen are hurrying home in shoals, terrified at what the panic has done or may do.

Ever truly yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, October 28, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The despatch on this occasion will bring you a formal notification of Admiral Seymour's blockade of the port and river of Canton. This may possibly interfere with our trade somewhat seriously. It puts a stop to the chuckle I have seen in some of our papers to the effect that we might reap a harvest while they were quarrelling.

This war is one between Sir Michael Seymour and Commissioner Yeh, or between England and Canton, not between the two Empires of Great Britain and China: and certainly no declaration of war has yet appeared. I suppose, therefore, we are to regard it as an imperfect or limited war, though it looks more like a "Plug Ugly" scrimmage than a national war.

The panic in the United States acts upon our travelling countrymen like the "rappel" or beat for a retreat. They are fast thronging homewards. Mr. — told me that on one morning, after the receipt of disastrous failures and suspensions the night before, one hundred and fifty had departed from the Hotel du Louvre at Paris to get on board the Vanderbilt!

Consols were yesterday a scintilla below 89. This is slight but perceptible improvement. The great effort is, if possible, to prevent the shipment of gold

and silver to the United States. Such consignments are so immensely remunerative just now, that the Bank of England repels by an 8 per cent. discount notes designed to draw out her coin. She has succeeded, it is thought, quite sufficiently to avert the danger.

We can expect no news from India short of a week hence. Boys in the streets are, to be sure, every night shrieking out, "Delhi fallen," "Havelock defeated;" but their newspapers contain nothing of the sort.

An inflammation in my left eyelid, engendered by a fierce midnight lamp and the intolerable types of the New York and Philadelphia journals, absolutely compels me to stop short. I dare say you will breathe a "thank gracious!" for if the members of your diplomatic menagerie throw at you such heaps of paper pellets as I do, it is not in human nature to avoid a sense of patience overwhelmed.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, October 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The last news from India, although accompanied by the storm of Delhi, is of a mixed character, and scarcely justifies the exultation expressed in the Press here. The capture of the city was not attained except with immense comparative loss, especially of

officers, and it proved an almost empty acquisition, as the great body of the rebels, with their new King at their head, had skilfully managed to evacuate the place, to cross the Jumna by a bridge of boats, and to effect a compact and safe retreat. The details of the assault, if allowed to appear, will probably be frightful; as it was protracted for six days, during the greater part of which the fighting was conducted in the streets. Such disastrous and inconclusive successes, in a civil or servile war, ought not to be vapoured about. The escape of the King and garrison, which requires explanation, makes the whole siege measurably abortive.

It is also quite obvious that, instead of being overawed and checked, the disaffection is becoming wider and bolder. The son of the deposed King of Oude, but fifteen or sixteen years of age, has been hoisted into the throne of his father, and his ministers have organized a force to impede the march of Havelock and Outram to the relief of Lucknow. Several sepoy regiments heretofore relied on have mutinied. The English battalions, to be sure, seem invincible where they stand: but their power is confined to that "*possessio pedis*," and they do not put down the insurrection. By this time, however, the new levies have reached the scene of action, and we may expect to witness something definitive.

The question as to the union or *status quo* of the Danubian Principalities is rapidly ripening into what

may prove a quarrel after the approaching Conference at Paris. France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia favour the consolidation, with a new King chosen from the western dynasties: England, Austria, and Turkey are averse to anything of the sort. The Principalities themselves have recently by large votes in their respective divans pronounced for union. The difficulty will not be removed when the Powers come to consider the Treaty of Paris (or of Peace) of the 30th of March last: on the contrary, it will be augmented. For it is clear that by Article 25, if the Sultan alone holds aloof and refuses to agree to any proposed definitive organization of these provinces, he is at liberty to do so, and his "suzeraineté" remains unimpaired. But he has done so already, in advance of the Conference: he has formally repudiated the new monarchy scheme as one to which he will never assent or submit; and while apparently silent, both England and Austria vigorously back him up in this stand. The majority of the Powers in conference, sustained by the regularly ascertained sense of the Principalities themselves, will not readily or cheerfully submit to the Sultan's veto. Hence it is not impossible that the consulting physicians may disseminate an opinion that "the sick man" is, after all said and done, pretty much as Dr. Nicholas thought him, and that depletion, drenching, and strait-waistcoating constitute the only promising treatment.

By this occasion, you have consigned to you Sir William Gore Ouseley and his charming American wife, whose transmission by her Majesty to Central America (pray where is *that* government?) I apprised you of in my note of the 13th instant.

I had the pleasure to welcome Secretary Cobb's Commissioner on International Coinage two days ago. Professor Alexander shall certainly have the benefit of all the aid I can give him in getting access to the officers of government to confer on the interesting subject entrusted to his care. The topic, however, is not one to which attention can, just now, be turned.

Prussia, you will have observed, *has* lapsed into a Regency. The King, confiding everything to the hands of his brother, proposes travelling southwards to Rome and Naples. He will hardly get through the winter, and may be regarded, like the generality of patients whom their physicians recommend to travel, as a rapidly "*dissolving view*." The circumstances connected with the event seem, somehow or other, to interfere with the programme of the marriage of Prince William and the Princess Royal: a postponement to the spring is already hinted.

The alarm excited here by the monetary panic in the United States is subsiding. Few failures; among which only one Bank, the Borough Bank of Liverpool.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR CASS.

London, November 6, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The commercial fright, which seems generally swelling into terror, is the only thing which might possibly be beaten up to an importance sufficient for a despatch. Everything else since the fall of Delhi was announced is flat and fugitive. England has rather a heavy load upon her back at present, and this last monetary pressure threatens to make her stagger. Every fresh steamer (the Vanderbilt last evening) brings gloomier accounts from the United States. All the merchants and manufacturers connected with American trade are startled and trembling. The Bank already appeals to the forbearance of her depositors and customers, and tells them that if they act upon their fears and ask her bullion, she cannot stand it. Her interest is raised to 9 per cent., and another puff of the western sirocco will lift it to 10. What then? Why, then she must cry out to Lord Palmerston and Parliament, "Help me, Cassius, or I sink!"—What if they refuse? Why, then I should be disposed to remember that the population of this Babel might become feverish and excitable under the influence of an infusion of some hundreds of thousands of discharged operatives, and that it might be prudent to have the Stars and Stripes ready for exhibition from one's balustrade!

Bread riots, however, are not famous for discrimination.

The failure to lay the Atlantic electric cable has been followed by the failure to launch the Great Eastern, or, as christened, "The Leviathan." An attempt on the 3rd instant, to permit the monster to slide sideways down an inclined plane into the Thames was frustrated by some of the workmen mistaking a signal shown by Mr. Brunel from his elevated position on the deck:—the effect being, that one part of the ship obeyed the signal and moved some three or four feet, while the other part remained stationary. It was accompanied by some sad accidents. Still the operation might have proceeded, and it probably would have proceeded, but that the river was densely thronged by crowded steamers and boats, and the mishap already experienced made it not impossible that another might occur, and precipitate the vast unmanageable bulk to overwhelm and deluge everything within two or three miles of her. She is now resting on the inclined plane, and it is feared that as that is constructed on piles, her enormous weight, say fourteen thousand tons, may gradually settle down and become immovable by any known mechanical force. The 2nd of December is given out as the day for another trial; but it would not surprise me to hear, that, in order to avoid the obvious and imminent dangers of a multitudinous collection, distracting and

intimidating those engaged in managing the machinery, she had been safely launched without public notice.

Parliament has been prorogued to the 17th next month, and will probably, as usual, be again prorogued to the beginning of February.

The United States frigate Niagara, Captain Hudson, left Plymouth yesterday morning, homeward bound.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MRS. EDGE.

London, November 9, 1857.

I regret, my dear Mrs. Edge, that consistently with truth I am not at liberty to confirm your hope of our relationship. Judging exclusively by the intelligent and frank tone of your letter, it would have afforded me great pleasure to do so.

My father's name was not Joseph, but Alexander James: my own name is not George Mills, but George Mifflin.

My grandfather, somewhere in the middle of the last century, was a physician in Edinburgh, Scotland;—he married a wealthy lady of the Island of Jamaica and had numerous sons and daughters, all born in that colony. His name was Robert Dallas. The estate upon which he lived and died was known

as "Dallas Castle." His widow subsequently married a Mr. Sutherland: and these two in some way or other dissipated all the family property, and threw my grandfather's sons upon their own energies. All of them became eminent, but none except one called Charles Stuart, or Stuart Charles, accumulated fortune.

My father, after marrying in County Devon, a daughter of Major George Smith, of the British Army, sought his future in the United States in the year 1783, when about twenty-five years of age. I was born in 1792 in the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This short narrative shows you that, although our branches of lineage may have a common trunk, somewhere in distant times, they have extended far apart, and it would be impossible to trace their connection beyond the name.

Of the name, I knew there existed, during the last fifty years, in America, several very respectable families; but inquiries have always ended in failing to prove that any one of them was of the origin of my own.

Very sincerely and respectfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, November 10, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The worst apprehensions are fast seizing upon the merchants. The Bank of England raised her interest on discounts to 10 per cent. yesterday. Several heavy failures have been announced, among them the great firm of Dennistoun, of Glasgow; and others are hourly expected. Not a ray of sunshine breaks upon the gloom from any quarter as yet. Men look as if they were beneath an impending avalanche, and scarcely dare to breathe. This applies to the great banking houses without exception, whose names I will not trust to paper, but whose deep anxieties are manifest.

Dr. Peter Parker, our late Commissioner in China, arrived here last evening, and has just paid me a protracted visit. Mr. Reed, according to the doctor's calculation, will arrive at Hong-Kong at about this date. He seems to regret that he was not left, like his colleague, Dr. Bowring, to aid the minister whom the condition of public affairs rendered it expedient to send out. His purpose is to proceed to the United States in about two weeks and to visit Washington without delay.

I have written only because of my wish to send you a line by every leading steamer, for I really am left by the extreme dulness of the times without topics for letters.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, November 13, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The panic proceeds, leaving deeper vestiges of its march on this side of the Atlantic than with you. Yesterday, the cabinet took a step which cannot fail to be impressive, for good or evil, and which may produce serious discord in the approaching Parliament. They determined to throw the government as an impediment in the way of the spreading commercial embarrassment; and the *Globe* of this afternoon contains the letter of Lord Palmerston and the Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank, authorizing a violation of the Charter by extending their issues beyond the limits prescribed by Sir Robert Peel's great and approved Act of 1844: and this, though with deprecatory language, at their discretion! The ministry pledge themselves to ask from Parliament a bill of indemnity, to save the Bank harmless, if it will break through the fetters of law, and give the merchants an unlimited supply of its notes: and they omit the slightest provision calculated, if that be at all possible, to prevent the depreciation of the paper. After such a measure, it is quite time that the English journals should pause in their prolonged attacks on our Bank suspensions and their legislative legalizations.

Not all yet. An early meeting of Parliament is to be summoned, probably before the close of this month. Having taken the irrevocable step, the Premier resolves to face the music at once. To this conclusion the government would seem to have been hurried by two things : first, by the violent disorders menacing Glasgow, on the stoppage of the Bank of that city, which demanded the presence of a military force ; and second, by the example of Louis Napoleon, who, the day before (to wit, Wednesday the 12th), came out in the *Moniteur* with a letter addressed to his Minister of Finance, stigmatizing the panic as a creature of the imagination, disclaiming any design to employ empirical measures, and counselling simple and temporary measures of prudence. The simple measures were immediately adopted by the Bank of France, and the interest on discounts made to rise according to the length of the note to eight, nine, or ten per cent.

The vice of all this is governmental intermeddling. It depreciates the obligation of law, intimidates trade, and tampers with currency. Men struggle boldly and successfully, amid commotions incident to the natural elements of their business ; but if these are to be changed or controlled at the will of government, results cease to depend on individual energy and sagacity. When the fermentation is under way, abstinence is the true wisdom : wait till spontaneous self-creating clarification takes place.

The last news from India has caused much relief and exultation. The reconquest of Delhi and the complete success of Havelock in his movements on Lucknow are undoubtedly pregnant facts. The old Mogul King (ninety years of age) and his old wife, with their three sons, have been pursued and captured; the superannuated couple spared, the rest executed. Still, the confessed loss in hard fighting, especially among the officers, has been immense: two generals, Niell and Nicholson, among them. There is more disaffection reported; a new and younger King has been proclaimed: the rebels of Delhi have gone in masses to other places to maintain and encourage mutiny; the cholera rages; and General Wilson has been driven from his command by ill health.

I am informed by one acquainted with him and his family that General Havelock has had, during all the time he has been pressing so gallantly forward, a daughter among the besieged at Lucknow!

The new ministry in Belgium is of advanced liberalism; so, it is said, is the new ministry in Madrid; Rogier and Mon are the respective vital spirits. I look to see, at an early date, the finger of Napoleon in both of these pies, disturbing the crust and displacing the plums.

Please say to Mr. Cobb that his Commissioner on International Coinage, Professor Alexander, after a short delay, accompanied me to-day to the Foreign

Office, was introduced to the Earl of Clarendon, and received every necessary direction as to putting himself "*en rapport*," with the "*proper functionaries*" mentioned in the Act of Congress. The subject occupies many of the first minds in this country, and I think the time may come when the two governments will mature it into practice. At present everything financial and commercial is too dislocated and disturbed to allow the necessary attention to be given to the project.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. BATES.

London, November 15, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your proposal as to Christmas is too kind and cordial to be resisted, notwithstanding our consciousness of the multitude it embraces. We anticipate great pleasure in conforming precisely to your programme, and in being with you and Mrs. Bates at Sheen on the 23rd to the 28th December.

I am given always to doubt the virtue of nullification of law, whether it be executive or popular; but cases of sudden necessity may arise which excuse, if they don't justify, a government in assuming the responsibility of doing it. The precedent set in 1847, of suspending the operation of Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act, was very seductive at this crisis; and the

manner in which that bold breach of positive legal injunction was treated may be fairly regarded as equivalent to a legislative modification or relaxation of the terms of the Charter. No ministry can hereafter, under the same circumstances, venture to hold on to the law inflexibly. One position, "*ita lex scripta*," must yield to another, "*communis error facit jus*."

I hope what you say of *the storm* here may be true also of the storm in the United States, though you perceive that our Secretary of the Treasury recoiled from doing what is somewhat analogous to Lord Palmerston's proceeding:—he would not throw the doors of the sub-treasury vaults open, in face of an Act of Congress, although extremely inclined and tempted to do so. My letters are still full of sad foreboding, but I think a streak of sunshine returning here and there breaks through the dark cloud. We shall revive in sixty days, but we shall miss from the herd many a noble animal who carried veteran and magnificent antlers but two months ago.

Pray offer to Mrs. Bates our warmest regards, and believe me always

Most faithfully yrs.

TO MR. GILPIN.

London, November 16, 1857.

MY DEAR GILPIN,

It puzzles me to find excuses for your long-protracted silence. I hear and sincerely hope that Mrs. Gilpin has perfectly recovered her health. If not, then to be sure the puzzle is explained.

Mr. Cobden brought Mr. Bright to see me about a week ago. The latter looks the type of florid health; but I doubt its entirety and permanency. He, several times in the course of an hour's talk (for visits here are very prolonged), put his hand to his head as if to aid the process of thought: once, perceiving that I remarked the gesture with a slight sympathy, he said that he still felt a remnant of his complaint in being unable to push vigorously to concentration the course of his ideas; that he was apprehensive he would find it hard, if not impossible, to take his old position in parliamentary debate: that in other respects his restoration was perfect. I told him that in convalescence, the mind, like the body, required *gradual* exercise; that his had been idle for nearly two years, and though perfectly sound, was relaxed; and I exhorted him not to postpone exertion to the House of Commons, but to try himself first among his friends after a public dinner, and then at one or two political meetings. I added, that one of my chief inducements in consenting to come

on this mission was the opportunity of hearing Mr. Cobden and himself in full blast on the free trade topic, and I did not want to be wholly disappointed. These gentlemen carried their Manchester Peace principle to an extreme, at a moment when the nation was irrevocably committed to war, and, as a necessary consequence, their popularity waned. Mr. Cobden lost his election last spring, only because of his constant opposition to vigorous measures against Russia. I do not yet perceive a prospect of his regaining his ground. His friend is younger, less dreaded or disliked, promised not to carry his Quaker notions into the Indian struggle, is re-elected, and if he will only surmount, by the regimen I have prescribed, his diseased want of self-confidence, must become the leading spirit of the House of Commons. Of course, I took the occasion to speak of you, whom he remembered with obvious pleasure, and to place in his hands the package of books you sent for him a year ago. No doubt he will acknowledge to you their receipt.

The very last accounts from India create extreme anxiety for the fate of Generals Outram and Havelock and their army, about three thousand five hundred strong. They reached Lucknow and relieved the European men and women besieged in a fortress; but they can't themselves get out again: the masses of Mussulmans in the city of Lucknow itself are watching an opportunity to overwhelm them; the

road back to Cawnpore is infested with small armies of mutineers; Nana Sahib, with thirty or forty thousand men and munitions in abundance, is surrounding them; and a month at least must elapse before adequate reinforcements could reach them. After all the suffering endured and gallantry exhibited by Havelock and his men, their sudden destruction, by Nana Sahib, too, would be as severe a blow upon the heart of this country as could be struck. It looks at this moment to be almost inevitable. Havelock will no doubt sustain the character he has achieved by a most desperate defence: but the odds are too great. Men argue here that the fall of Delhi and the capture of the Mogul King will dispirit the rebels at Lucknow:—perhaps so, and perhaps not. The city was a barren conquest:—it was kept with acknowledged courage and skill by the sepoy for months: it was abandoned by them when no longer tenable: and they have escaped to rally and continue the war elsewhere: the superannuated monarch was a mere effigy, though a cherished one, and the treatment shown him, with the execution of his sons, may possibly produce more exasperation than fright. Nana Sahib, with all his atrocities exaggerated, is yet admitted to possess talents, bravery, and resources:—he may also see in the extirpation of the King's family, an opening for the establishment of a new dynasty: he may be a Spartacus, and yet hope to avoid the fate of Spartacus.

Parliament will meet in the first week in December. It is hurried up by the government to pass an Act of Amnesty for the benefit of the Bank, which, at the instigation and request of the ministry, openly violates the express restrictions of its Charter in issuing an unlimited amount of its notes and retaining its coin. There is precedent for this;—in 1847:—and the nullification of positive law not only does not create surprise, but seems to receive unanimous approbation. The panic has made its own law. I am told by the first city merchants that the “storm is over,” that the breath of Lord Palmerston has stilled the agitation, and arrested an explosion on the brink of producing widespread ruin. The “Omnipotent” Assembly, whose past decrees are thus alighted, will register a new one with very little if any demur. It will continue in session for a week or two, and then be prorogued, probably to February. It will only take time to utter a few speeches about India, China, and perhaps Central America.

The book of the day is Livingstone's Africa. Read it. Don't be repelled, as I was on the point of being, by the first fifty or sixty pages. You will come to curious and interesting details of natural history which will abundantly delight you.

We all unite, *nem. con.*, in sending the kindest regards to Mrs. Gilpin.

Ever faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, November 17, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The meeting of Parliament will precede that of Congress by four days. It was prorogued to the 17th of December, but the Queen has by proclamation yesterday hastened it a fortnight. *Officially*, the object is "the despatch of divers urgent and important affairs:" *generally*, it is understood to be the passage of an Act to amnesty and guarantee the Bank: *really*, it is for these purposes, and specially perhaps to authorize a loan for the relief of the East India Company's finances. This last point will be a sore matter, notwithstanding the military glory which is represented to have been gained in the rebellion; for John Bull thinks that the expense of the struggle should all be extracted, by the East India Company and the local government, through confiscations and fresh taxes, out of the natives, and not be wrenched from him.

It is doubtful whether the Queen will open Parliament in person. And why? You will be surprised to hear. The reason is that if her Majesty does open Parliament, she must, of necessity, advert to the gallantry exhibited in Bengal by the British generals, and particularize them by name. Public feeling will not be satisfied with cold comprehensive praise from her; and yet she cannot step out of a dull formality without stirring the hot embers of an

established feud in the India service, the feud between those called "*Queen's men*" and those called "*Company's men*." I have the disclosure of this covert but practical embarrassment, of which I was not before aware, from a highly distinguished and intelligent gentleman in office. How the difficulty bears upon Wilson, Lawrence, Havelock, Nicholson, Niell, and Outram respectively, it will be curious to inquire, and may be a key to explain future honours or slights. Thus far Havelock has borne off the palm, and he is even compared with Wellington: although a morning paper, in view of his actual danger in Lucknow, denounces his advance to that place as the precipitate mistake of the campaign. His popularity here is unbounded, and may extort from Majesty a Field Marshal's baton.

There are philosophers everywhere who think themselves peculiarly competent to cure all existing evils. Such no doubt is the gentleman who wrote the accompanying pamphlets on monetary matters pamphlets which he is anxious to administer, as a sort of homœopathic dose, to Brother Jonathan, in the convulsive crisis of his affairs. He has begged me (by the letter inclosed) to send them to the President, a courtesy to him which I cannot pretermitt; but, as I am averse to call attention from vastly more important affairs to the lucubrations of Mr. John M. Knott, a perfect stranger, I must, even, with a thousand apologies, transfer the burden to your broad shoulders.

There are puffs of news from China. Lord Elgin had greatly benefited his health, which was assailed by fever, by his voyage to Calcutta; but he ascertained, on his return to Hong-Kong, that he would have to remain in Southern China until at least the next spring. The blockade had been pushed up to Canton itself. Several skirmishes had occurred, and, in the main, the English, under Commodore Elliott, came off second best. The French Embassy had reached Singapore. The Russian envoy had managed to communicate with the Imperial government at Peking, and had then gone to Shanghai to wait reception and presentation, but it was believed that he had received information of the Emperor's unwillingness to accept his visit. With the exception of Canton, commerce with all the ports of China is as lively and tranquil as ever. "How very odd!" Commodore Tatnall, who arrived here a week ago, will proceed on his voyage to relieve Commodore Armstrong in the course of a few days.

We are called upon by the Court official to mount mourning for the deceased Duchess of Nemours, as cousin of her Majesty! that is, I believe, she was the daughter of the personage who *first* married the Queen's aunt, and *secondly* married her mother!—well, according to the regulations of your department, our suits of sable are always on hand, and always "full dress."

Very faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, November 20, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The progress of commercial disaster does not appear to have been arrested by the ministerial intervention. The Bank, to be sure, lends more freely, but the list of daily failures gets longer and longer. Unless the grand panacea of governmental guaranty prove effective soon, I don't see what is to prevent a general break-down, attended by great social disorders, far worse than any we need fear in the United States.

The ambassadors from the First and Second Kings of Siam, with their presents of rich barbaric gold and jewelry, were received by the Queen (upon the throne!) at Windsor yesterday. I met these illustrious mulattoes at the dinner of the Lord Mayor in honour of the Duke of Cambridge. Wretched, squat-faced, inexpressive, animal-looking creatures! in every possible trait inferior to our Indians. Strong and sinewy, with teeth stained jet-black, hair equally dark and cropped close, and tight-fitting gowns of thin cloth of gold:—admirable labourers for a Southern cotton-field.

Yesterday, too, Mr. Brunel made a second failure with the Great Eastern. He attempted to move her nearer to the water, and applied a force which made the piles supporting the rams give and break without

budging her. This trial was a private one: and no doubt all future ones, until the huge fabric is afloat, will be conducted without public notice.

Very faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, November 24, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Stillness precedes a stir; and by that reflection I account for the silent smoothness with which political affairs are gliding to the meeting of Parliament on the 3rd of December, and of the Congress at Paris shortly after. Nothing agitates the air but the fall, actual or prophesied, of some great commercial house, or the learned declamation of an "Oxon." on the duty of making a Christian demonstration against Juggernaut in Bengal, so that future divine judgments may be averted. Two parliamentary, or rather ministerial, dinners are formally announced for the 2nd of December; one by Lord Granville, the other by the Premier.

The Reform party, headed by Mr. Roebuck, think the moment propitious for a fresh movement, and have issued a sort of manifesto, which may be characterized as a cowed utterance of Chartism. I think Mr. Roebuck one of the ablest, he is universally admitted to be the most independent, of the Members of Parliament: but the country is, at this moment,

tamed by two wars, by the alarm-bell of the Exchange, and by the prospect of popular commotion and suffering excited by augmented taxation. The period is unwisely chosen. Although Lord Palmerston explicitly pledged himself to introduce a Reform Bill at the present session, no one expects him to do it, and already the matter is treated, in conversation and in the press, as indefinitely postponed. Mr. Roebuck's followers are sufficient neither in number nor moral weight to make head against the quiet *overlawing* current of the time.

The death of Cavaignac was thought to be the knell of the French Republican party, yet the fact that Carnot and Goudchaux have refused to swear allegiance to the Empire indicates very strongly the reverse. I am told that, owing to some yet undeveloped cause, the popularity of Louis Napoleon among the Parisians is perceptibly waning. This may be tested by the new election ordered.

You will receive this at about the opening of Congress, and I cannot repress an entreaty that I may be promptly supplied with 1. the President's Message, 2. the Report of Mr. Cobb, and 3. the Congressional Directory.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, December 8, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Arabia brought me, late yesterday, your interesting Nos. 85, 86, and 87. Their tone implies a policy which has my zealous sympathy, and which I am eager to see distinctly announced in the President's message. At this moment, public opinion all through Europe is prepared for the new American Executive's cutting through all the protracted and complicated cobwebs of controversy which it has been the pleasure of England to spin out of the fruitful womb of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Lord Napier's letter to you of the 9th October looks very like a deliberated effort to lay the foundations of another series of batteries for arguments long-drawn out. Your reply of the 20th probably created a flutter, a suspension of works, and an appeal for further instructions.

If the Message be what I have thought likely on our Foreign Relations, Parliament will reassemble (it adjourns on Monday the 14th) after the holidays in a temper very different from the quiet and passive one it now exhibits. Not a word given to the United States, or Central America, in the Queen's speech! a fact commented upon by the *Journal des Débats*, and deemed significant of disturbances behind the scenes. And a representative of France,

Mr. Belly, has proceeded to join Sir W. G. Ousely, in order to realize Lord Clarendon's old declaration as to the universal bearing of the Anglo-Franco Alliance. Very well! There is nothing so impressive upon the majority of the House of Commons as decided language from the chief of our "fierce democracie," and Lord Palmerston may find himself suddenly unhorsed by the influence of terrified manufacturers already tortured by the panic. It is an epoch at which the very questionable opinions and interpretations of a Premier will not be sustained by the popular branch of Parliament at the hazard of reviving the hostile feelings of the two countries.

I went last night to both Houses. The Lords were on India, the Commons on the Bank: but the benches were almost empty while Lord Derby was speaking in the one, and a Scotch member in the other. It is understood that the ministry have their way on both questions; and the Opposition, after a few speeches, retires listlessly from contest.

I hope you have noticed that the great English historian, like a wise man chary of fame already acquired, has retained his name and taken the oaths in the House of Peers, with the title of Baron Macaulay. If he choose it, he will carry great weight with his new associates.

You have doubtless heard that we are in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. What a mistake! The illustrious ambassadors from Siam, on being

introduced into the presence of the Queen, actually and in a group fell upon their faces, crawled on all-fours to the foot of the throne, and presented her Majesty with the right royal and magnificent present (among others) of a spittoon! Shade of Basil Hall, and Genius of Trollope! what think ye of this intrusion by the representative of "the filthy practices of Americans" into the very sanctuary of transcendental refinement? I wonder if these eastern savages are given to practical jokes, or have in their wit a spice of sarcasm.

Commercial skies are slowly brightening. The reported failures are becoming few and far between. The example of the Bank of France will probably be soon followed, and the Dame of Threadneedle Street begin to lower her interest on discounts. At Hamburg, however, and it is feared at Copenhagen and Stockholm, the financial asphyxia threatens universal ruin. How singularly similar to the progress of an epidemical cholera has the advance of this monetary derangement been! only it travels in an opposite direction, from West to East.

Mr. Brunel has not yet got his Leviathan into her element: unless she rushed down in the course of last night. One half of her journey homewards is not yet accomplished. All things, however, inspire confidence, and very soon the astronomers in the Moon will rejoice in the discovery of a great spot upon the Earth's disc.

I ought to make, and therefore I do make, a thousand apologies to the Secretary of State for this mixture of incongruities; but, as Monsieur Crapaud says, "*Que voulez-vous ?*" my notes are as musical as I can make them.

Always faithfully yrs.

THE QUEEN OPENING PARLIAMENT.

DIARY: *December 8, 1857.*—"The opening of Parliament by the Queen in person this morning was altogether a handsome and suggestive ceremony. Here, in a vast and rich hall, was in fact concentrated the government of a wide-spread Empire: Royalty, Princes, Peers, Nobles, Bishops, Law-Judges, and Commons. Her Majesty wore a crown of brilliants, and jewels sparkled over her person. Her principal garment was a glittering skirt of striped golden stuff, and she removed from her shoulders the weight of a cloak of crimson velvet bordered with ermine. She was preceded into the House of Lords, from the corridor, by high officers, who bowed to the yet vacant throne as they passed it. She was handed up to the throne by the Prince Consort. On her immediate right stood Lord Winchester, holding a gold stick surmounted by a large red velvet cap, with gold tassel, termed the Cap of Maintenance. On her immediate left was

Earl Granville, grasping and keeping erect, with fixed solemnity of look, the huge decorated Sword of State. The Lord Chancellor, Cranworth, was next to the Marquess of Winchester, and held in his hand the Address, which he subsequently gave, kneeling, to the Queen, to be read. Lord Lansdowne carried a Crown upon a cushion. The Princess Royal and Princess Mary of Cambridge seated themselves in front on the Woolsack, with their faces to the Queen, their backs turned necessarily to the crowd. The chamber was full of elegantly dressed ladies; the Peers present were few.

As soon as the obstreperous rushing in of the disorderly Commons to the Bar, headed by their Speaker, had subsided, the Address was read by the Queen, still sitting, and was well read; her Majesty manifesting a slight and attractive agitation at first. There was much to gratify in the whole performance; but it seemed to me that its charm arose from its being headed by an exemplary lady not yet old enough to have lost beauty, grace, and sweetness of voice. Her husband occupied what might be regarded as a secondary throne, on her left beyond Lord Granville.

The Address read and returned to the Lord Chancellor, the Queen rose immediately, and, handed by the Prince Consort, bowed to the audience, who all stood up, and left by the door and corridor through which she had come. The Prince

of Wales was not present. Prince William of Prussia was."

TO MR. J. M. M.

London, December 11, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The President's Message is eagerly awaited. Misgivings as to its tone are prevalent. It may rouse an opposition in Parliament which, disposed to anything rather than quarrel with America, will oblige Lord Palmerston to quit the helm. The administration, say rather the President, has a glorious opportunity for inaugurating a grand international clearing-house.

The French scheme for reviving the Slave Trade, ostensibly a mere license to a firm, Regis & Co., to ship from Africa large numbers of negroes, as *free labourers*, for the West Indies, will probably be abandoned. Some people think, though I do not, that the functionaries of this government would have connived at the project had it remained *sub rosa*: but the keen-sighted and loud-tongued abolitionists gave the halloo, and now Lord Clarendon, when waited upon, gives positive and impressive assurances that their great and faithful ally beyond the Channel will effectually prevent the mischief. The conception of the plan is a proof of the straits to which they are reduced, as to labour, by their fanatical

humanitarianism. Observe, the English statesmen and editors have had a measure of rationality infused into their doctrine of universal emancipation by their fight with the Indian sepoys: for though, like the scrupulous framers of our Constitution, they sink the word slaves, they in reality inflict a servitude more abject and galling than is known to our Southern States.

The House of Lords will this afternoon dispose of, by passing, the Bill of Indemnity to the Bank and the ministry for violating its Charter. That proceeding certainly seemed to lull the commercial tornado which threatened universal break-down. Until the government cried "Let go and haul," the vessel, in general opinion, was upsetting: that spell righted her, and she has ever since, on an even keel, been slowly getting into smoother water. Failures, to be sure, are almost daily announced of houses connected in business with distant continental places, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg, to which the tempest has pushed, and where it is expending its expiring force. But the worst is over, here; as I fervently hope it is with you.

It is curious to observe how popular sentiment *will* force its way in this country through all sorts of aristocratic finesse and obstacles. I have noticed many instances: but here is a new and signal one. General Havelock, by a series of gallant exploits,

made himself the favourite of the day, and the people called lustily upon royalty for his reward. Well, they first settled upon him a wretched annuity of £100. Pish! cried John Bull, that will never do! Then, they made him a Baronet; Bah! grumbled John, that may do for Sir William Williams of Kara, but here's a soldier of a dozen victories! Then, the Queen, by special message, graciously hoped her Parliament would vote, and her Parliament has voted, £1000 per annum during his life. Still the heart of John Bull is swelling and dissatisfied, and he is demanding something like what was done for Marlborough or Wellington (for John solemnly believes Havelock to have saved the British Indian Empire), and he now insists upon a peerage and a fortune to maintain it. Success to him! and succeed he will, if he but stick obstinately to his demand. Havelock's present position at Lucknow, however, renders it extremely doubtful whether he will survive to wear his honours. He is beleaguered by 70,000, and wants food; and though Sir Colin Campbell may rake together a force of 5000 to go to his assistance, a deep dread prevails that he will be too late.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, December 15, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

Parliament has adjourned to the 4th of February next. It was in session nearly nine working days. The Lords met on Saturday last the 12th, merely to receive the Queen's assent to the Act relieving the Bank. Little positive legislation beyond that was attempted. A Committee of broad investigation as to currency was reappointed: General Havelock was voted a pension of £1000 per annum for life: and a pretty distinct intimation was thrown out that the government would be obliged to go to the relief of the funds of the East India Company. As to Reform, explicitly promised in the Queen's speech, the Premier merely added in debate, "you must wait till after the holidays for our plan: we have no notion of allowing the critics to brood over it during the recess." One thing was too obvious for doubt: on none of the existing public measures is the Opposition capable to make a stand. It is difficult to imagine a British ministry more unchecked in pursuing whatever course they like, than that of Lord Palmerston. Nor can any change be anticipated as the fruit of some measure of domestic policy. Even a ridiculously small instalment of reform (a wee bit) will fail to exasperate a serious resistance. There may possibly spring up a foreign

question to disturb this smooth ascendancy, but it is not easy to designate the quarter whence it can come, or to say how it will divide parties when it occurs. The practical power wielded by Lord Palmerston would make me anxious lest, to attain some sinister purpose, it should be exerted against the United States, but that I feel assured that he and his cabinet are too sagacious voluntarily to run the risk of the only national quarrel which their countrymen cannot and will not uphold. His lordship's theory of administration certainly leads him to keep open an issue of war, as a vent for the humours of John Bull: and if he closes the Indian struggle, as appearances indicate that he soon will, you may expect to see Canton sacked, and Peking menaced. But he must be very tightly cornered before he will aim at America, and so revive the swarming of the hosts of manufacturing hornets upon his head.

The solicitude about Outram and Havelock, cooped up in Lucknow with an extra train of women and children, continues, although somewhat less desperate owing to recent accounts. The contending forces are converging to that point, and the result of an assault by Sir Colin Campbell will probably close the insurrection. He was near being captured on his way to take the command. Travelling *en courrier* without an escort, in order to be quick, he pounced suddenly upon a considerable body of mutineers, and narrowly escaped by the fleetness of his horse.

In the course of next month the marriage of the Princess Royal is to attract hither an immense flight of crowned personages, their families, or representatives. Her Majesty has not palaces enough to accommodate her guests, and is obliged to engage public hotels in advance. The chief theatres will, in the same service, be thrown gratuitously open for several weeks. Every effort at brilliant *éclat* will be made. You probably experienced and remember the effect of such whirling court festivities upon a republican minister.

The money crisis seems to subside quite as fast as the monster steamer: both are, however, still *upon the stocks*.

Always faithfully yrs.

TO MR. CASS.

London, December 22, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Message reached London at about 5 A.M. yesterday. I read it in bed and composedly. It appeared, in pretty large fragments, in most of the morning papers. It is frankly and distinctly praised, except in that portion which deals of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The *Times* and the *Post* of to-day contain comments; and perhaps these, better than my impressions formed in so short a space of time, will enable you to see the reception it has had here;

and although I know you have files of these papers sent to you, it may be convenient to have the slips I now enclose. By the interference of Terence's play at the School of Westminster with the free agency of one of my guests at dinner yesterday, I missed the opportunity of being told the sentiment of Lord Clarendon, who had in the early part of the day talked fully to him on the subject. I got my copy before sunrise, by virtue of an arrangement to expedite it from Liverpool on the arrival of the Arabia.

Commercial matters appear to be improving. They have not been as bad in France as either here or with us. They are still deplorable in Germany; and some intelligent merchants anticipate that the failures in that quarter, especially the north, will react upon France, and make matters worse than they have yet been. Consols have run up to within a shade of 93; but the Bank still exacts 10 p. c. interest.

The town is deserted and dull.

Always faithfully yrs.

P.S.—The Message is printed at full length, not in fragments, in to-day's *Times*, partially disfigured by the headings to the several topics, originally devised by the New York *Herald*.

TO MR. CASS.

London, December 29, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

It occurs to me as possible that the many interesting subjects which are hourly demanding your attention in Washington may make you give less welcome than heretofore to these desultory letters of mine. I hope you will not hesitate, if so, to tell me to relax the stream.

It is quite apparent that the two leading topics for parliamentary disposition, in February, will be Representative Reform, and a modification of the government in India. The minister will, after all and possibly very unwillingly, be obliged to offer his bill. A scheme novel in its character has been recommended to him, in a formal Memorial, by a large number of influential persons headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. After the fashion of thinking which prevails here, the plan has its plausibilities. It rests upon the idea of creating a new and distinct constituency, to be composed of those who have been — "*liberally educated*" (that is, according to English common parlance, of the professions); of lawyers, physicians, and parsons. These, throughout the Empire, are designed to be jumbled into a separate mass, and to send their representatives from specified localities to the House of Commons. It is calculated

that this constituency will furnish about seventy members, contributed in pretty nearly equal proportions by the Bar, the Faculty, and the Clergy. It is *class* representation, intended and avowed, according to some narrower examples already existing. Much attention has been awakened to it, and it may not be entirely excluded from the ministerial project. In discussing it the other day, at a dinner table, before some Judges and Members of the House, I took the liberty to characterize it as a sop thrown to Cerberus, oiled with conservatism, which, instead of satisfying, would only sharpen appetite: and that, after all, if they wanted to do justice to their fellow-men, nothing was so conservative as universal suffrage, the very opposite of such class preferences.

You notice that Baron Brunow returns to this Court, which he left when the Crimean war broke out. I hear through a diplomatic colleague that Count Kreptowitch, owing to some unexplained cause, went back to St. Petersburg somewhat under a cloud. *Sed, de hoc quare?*

Count and Countess Platen, who succeed, from Sweden, Baron and Baroness Hochschild (the former dead), are plain, unpretending, and attractive persons. The Count told me he had begun life in the British navy, had been in the Swedish ministry, but had retired many years ago from public affairs. He is owner of a large fortune. They knew intimately my

old friend Mr. Christopher Hughes, whose daughter married Senator Kennedy of Maryland.

The Spaniard, Bravo, is off again to Madrid. He left here on the 21st instant. The very nice young gentleman whom he leaves Chargé d'Affaires, Conti, says that the minister is a leading member of the Spanish legislature, and that his presence in the Body is occasionally indispensable. Nothing need be apprehended against Mexico. The movement of General Walker may possibly revive a little alarmed bustle (for Spain regards all filibustering as ultimately destined against Cuba); but the President's Message effectually secures her good behaviour.

The vestiges of the commercial panic are fast disappearing. The Bank suddenly dropped her rate of interest from 10 to 8, and will shortly lower to 6. She does but conform to the street rate. The storm is, however, growling as it retreats on the Continent. Everybody eulogizes Mr. Cobb's report, and the tendency to American investments will before long be greater than ever.

Sir Colin Campbell has done his job handsomely, with only such an amount of wound as would attest his personal activity and exposure. The details of his relieving Lucknow have not yet arrived. He is conjectured to have returned to Cawnpore, there to organize an overpowering force for the subjection of the kingdom of Oude.

Can it be possible that while the case of the

Panchita was being disclaimed and apologized for, the same thing was going on with dozens of our vessels and flags?

Many happy returns of the season.

Always faithfully yrs.

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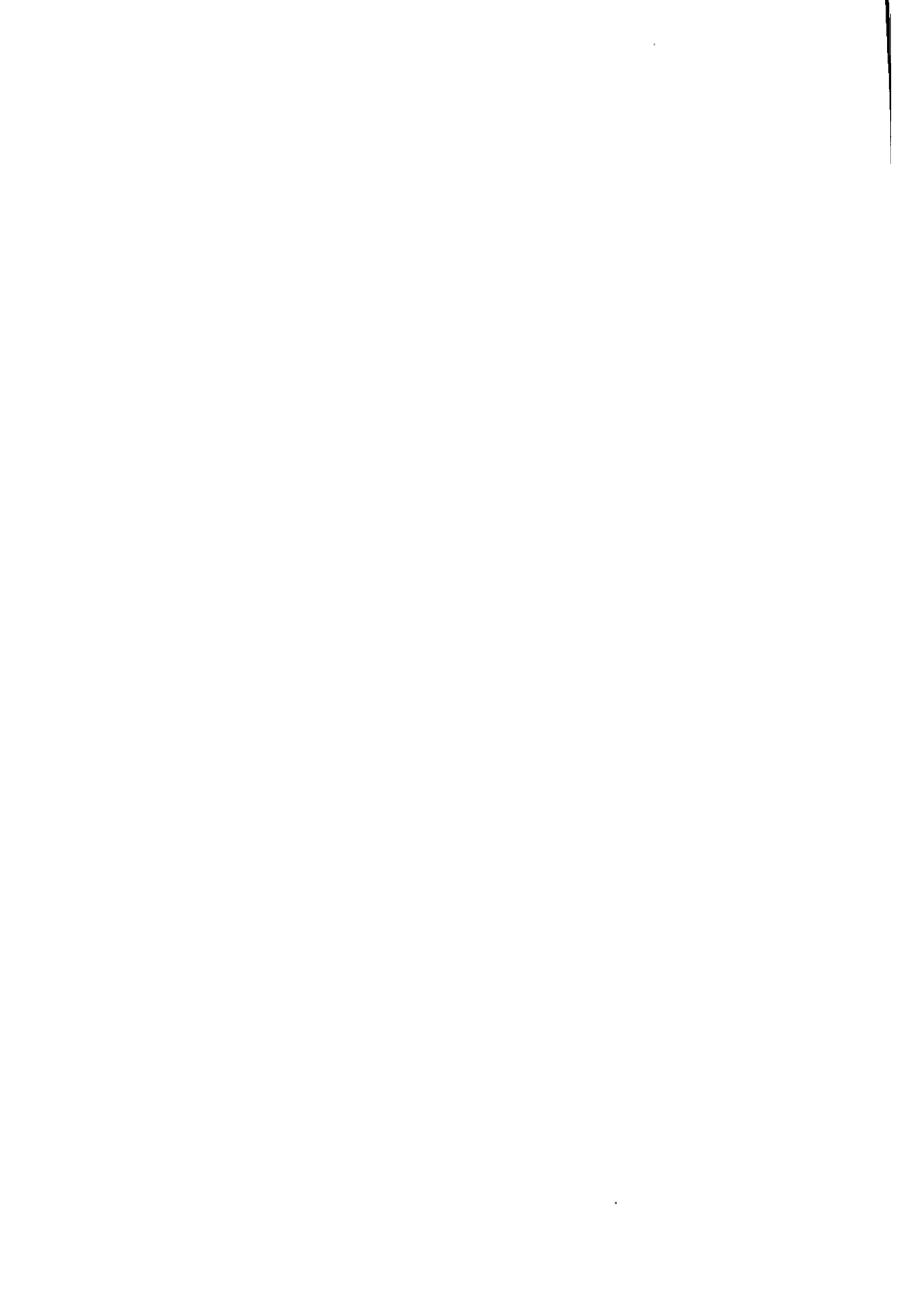
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